A Creole Melting Pot: the Politics of Language, Race, and Identity in southwest Louisiana, 1918-45

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SUMMARY

Southwest Louisiana Creoles underwent great change between World Wars I and II as they confronted American culture, people, and norms. This work examines that cultural transformation, paying particular attention to the processes of cultural assimilation and resistance to the introduction and imposition of American social values and its southern racial corollary: Jim Crow. As this work makes clear, the transition to American identity transmuted the cultural foundations of French- and Creole-speaking Creole communities. World War I signalled early transformative changes and over the next three decades, the region saw the introduction of English language, new industries, an increasing number of Protestant denominations, and the forceful imposition of racialized identities and racial segregation. Assimilation and cultural resistance characterized the Creole response, but by 1945, southwest Louisiana more closely resembled much of the American South. Creole leaders in churches, schools, and the tourism industry offered divergent reactions; some elite Creoles began looking to Francophone Canada for whitened ethnic identity support while others turned toward the Catholic establishment in Baltimore, Maryland to bolster their faith. Creoles were not the only distinct community to undergo Americanization, but Louisiana Creoles were singular in their response. As this study makes clear – in ways no historian has previously documented – Louisiana Creoles bifurcated as a result of Americanization. This study also contributes to, and broadens, the literature on Acadian identity. Previously, scholars simply assumed that whitened Latins in Louisiana had always identified with Acadia and their black-racialized brethren with Haiti. This thesis, however, suggests that Cajun and Creole are not opposites. Rather, they derive from the same people and culture, and their perceived and articulated difference emerged in response to Americanization. Through a critical analysis of that bifurcation process, this thesis demonstrates how Acadianized identity and culture emerged in the first half of the 20th century.

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be submitted in whole or in part to another university for the award of any other degree.

Signature: _____

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"I drag my myth around with me."
- Orson Wells

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Abbreviations

ACDL	Archives of the Catholic Diocese of Lafayette, Louisiana
C.M.	Congregation of the Mission (Vincentians or Lazarists)
C.S.Sp.	Congregation of the Holy Spirit (Spiritans)
La.	Louisiana
KOC	Knights of Columbus
KPC	Knights of Peter Claver
O.S.B.	Order of St. Benedict (Benedictines)
S.B.S.	Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament
S.J.	Society of Jesus (Jesuits)
S.S.F.	Sisters of the Holy Family
S.S.J.	St. Joseph's Society of the Sacred Heart (Josephites)
S.V.D.	Society of Divine Word Missionaries
USC	Population Schedule, United States Census

Introduction

Dolzé Leblanc, a Creole and native of Lake Peigneur in southern Lafayette Parish, Louisiana, had two sets of children. His wife, Hortense Broussard, brought 12 children to their marriage. The recently widowed Victoria Raymond bore him one son. Dolzé acknowledged paternity of his son Octa by Victoria at the child's Catholic christening in New Iberia. Their unity would not endure. English language and American cultural values eventually placed Dolzé's family in two separate castes and thus in direct opposition to one another. Hortense's descendants whitened, and Victoria's descendants blackened during the Jim Crow era. Black-racialized Creoles held on to Creole identity, while some whitened Creoles, like Dolzé and Hortense Leblanc's grandson, Dudley Joseph Leblanc, desperately looked to Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and to Nova Scotia for a romanticized, commodified, whitened Acadian identity unblemished by blackness. In English, after 1920, two cultural identities and memories emerged in southwest Louisiana; one whitened Acadian, one blackened Creole. After 1970, Cajun replaced Acadian, and self-identified Cajuns rebranded all things Creole to Cajun, including Creole foodstuffs like gumbo. The story told herein examines how in a span of approximately 20 years southwest Louisiana's 200-year-old unified and multicolored Creole culture and identity bifurcated along racial lines.[1]

[1] US Census 1900, Lake Peigneur, Vermilion Parish, E.D. 90, sheet 8A, Ancestry.com page 10, dwelling 138: LeBlanc, Dolsé; ibid., sheets 22B and 24A, Ancestry.com pages 41-2: Lopez, Octa and Lopez, Victoria. Octa Leblanc was born 31 March 1889 and baptized at St. Peter Catholic Church in New Iberia. Dolzé Leblanc acknowledged paternity at the baptism. St. Peter Church, New Iberia, La., baptismal book vol. 5 p. 89. There is a wealth of evidence of the Leblancs identifying as Creole. See *St. Landry Democrat*, 23 July 1881, p. 3; "Execution Will Be Private," *St. Martin Weekly Messenger*, 13 October 1906, p. 2.

This work highlights racial marking and its consequences in southwest Louisiana and among southwest Louisiana Creoles who, from the early part of the 18th century through the mid-to-late 19th century, remained relatively isolated in cohesive communities. Thomas Holt's usage of "marking," which denoted "a traumatic confrontation with the Other that *fixes* the meaning of one's self before one even has the opportunity to *live* and *make* a self more nearly of one's own chosing," served as a powerful social construct speaking to the circumscription of life, work, and play for an entire segment of the United States population. The southwest Louisiana Creole experience, as the pages to follow will elucidate, did not enter the 20th century bifurcated in separate black and white worlds, but racial marking eventually led to this end by the 1940s. Black-racialized US residents had every reason to "evade the curse of modernity," as Holt sees it, and to demark themselves in order to also strive for life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness in Jim Crow America.[2]

Holt's "curse of modernity" functions as part and parcel of the construction of 20th century America, or the process of Americanization. To be American hinged on being racialized as black or white and speaking American English. Race marking embedded itself in all aspects of the rapidly expanding nation state. New laws, ordinances, industries, infrastructures, institutions, social life, even cemeteries evinced proof of binary racialization during the interwar period. Some modernizing changes, such as road building projects, did not seek to divide communities, but had that effect. Roads, in particular, helped to diminish the isolation of rural communities throughout the United States, and – in south Louisiana's case – facilitated monumental population and

[2] Thomas C. Holt, "Marking: Race, Race-Making, and the Writing of History," *The American Historical Review* 100, no. 1 (Feb., 1999): 2.

social changes. Some Louisiana Creoles welcomed these changes, while others robustly contested them but begrudgingly accepted them over time.

This research project departs from the normative Southern narrative of bitterly divided communities that, in time, united then divided again. Southwest Louisiana's story began with cohesive Creole communities, which rapidly divided between the two World Wars as a result of Americanization. At the beginning of the 20th century, southwest Louisiana Creoles shared Catholic churches, labor (sugar cane industry) activities, residential settlement patterns, French and Creole languages, and local music. By 1945, Creole community cohesion changed and Creole communities found themselves in an American, racially divided world. Against all odds, Creoles managed to retain certain elements of their culture, despite pressures to assimilate.

This work fills a void in the historiography of 20th century southwest Louisiana. Scholarship on southwest Louisiana's Creoles during the interwar period exists in scant traces. When scholars do focus on the region, they assume the Creole experience mirrors the American experience, and begin their analyses with racial separation as a point of departure. More specifically, scholars like Shane Bernard tended to focus on the popular whitened Cajun narrative at the exclusion of black-racialized members of the same community. These depictions present a white and romanticized representation of the actual realities of the region, and lead us to believe that southwest Louisiana has always been the exclusive Eden of ill-fated Acadians. As this study makes clear, many Cajuns have missed the mark in regards to the complexity of southwest Louisiana's history.

A study on the making of race in 20th century Louisiana, this work moves beyond scholarship modeling Louisiana's historical trajectory as the same as other southern states. The segregation to integration to segregation model may very well hold true for

Anglophone Louisiana but, as this work makes clear, the Creole experience differed in important ways with regard to how the process of racialization in southwest Louisiana Creole communities impacted Creole people's identity, culture, and memory. A first to explore Creole and Cajun cultures in tandem, this doctoral thesis contributes to the historiography of Creole Louisiana, and broadens the body of work categorically identified as Acadian and Cajun literature.[3]

Prior to the 20th century, Louisiana Creole people did not racialize themselves according to American sensibilities. In 1858, a New Orleans Creole known as Colonel Williams visited Lancaster, Pennsylvania, where one local family invited him to dine and spend the night at their home. At dinner, a young lady present inquired about his fair skin, which led her to believe that he was from the North. Williams responded, "I am a Creole of Louisiana." His declaration deeply troubled the Pennsylvanian and he could not understand what had caused her so much angst. "I beg your pardon, sir," the young lady responded, continuing "but I would certainly have taken you for a white man!" For them, she went on to explain, Creole "means black or yellow" and the difference between

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[3] Louisiana narratives following the Anglophone racial model include: Adam Fairclough, *A Better Day Coming. Blacks and Equality, 1890-2000* (New York: Penguin Books, 2002); Fairclough, *A Class of their Own: Black Teachers in the Segregated South* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007); Ibid., *Teaching Equality: Black Schools in the Age of Jim Crow* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2001); Fairclough, "Racial Repression in World War II: the New Iberia Incident," *Louisiana History* 32, no. 2 (Spring, 1991); Fairclough, *Race & Democracy: The Civil Rights Struggle in Louisiana, 1915-1972* (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 2008); Shannon Lee Frystak, *Our Minds on Freedom: Women and the Struggle for Black Equality in Louisiana, 1924-1967* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2009); Lee Sartain, *Invisible Activists: Women of the Louisiana NAACP and the Struggle for Civil Rights, 1915-1945* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2007); Carl A. Brasseaux, *Acadian to Cajun: Transformation of a People, 1803-1877* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1992); Shane K. Bernard, *The Cajuns: Americanization of a People* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2003); W. Fitzhugh Brundage, "Le Reveil de la Louisiane: Memory and Acadian Identity, 1920-1960," in *Where These Memories Grow: History, Memory, and Southern Identity*, ibid., ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 271-298; Joseph G. Tregle, Jr., "Creoles and Americans" in *Creole New Orleans: Race and Americanization*, Arnold R. Hirsch and Joseph Logsdon, eds. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992).

black and yellow did not "make much difference." Williams clarified for the young lady: "*creole* means *native* and has no reference to color or race; that creole horses and creole cows are as commonly spoken of as creole men." The fact that Creoles identified themselves outside of the parameters of American categorical propriety should not come as a shock: before World War II, Creoles did not identify themselves as culturally American, at all.[4]

Still, American desires to racialize Creoles continued and eventually caused Creoles and their communities to racially bifurcate. To emphasize and fully capture this progression of racialization, the terms "whitened" and "blackened" have been used interchangeably with white-racialized and black-racialized in reference to Creoles where and when race became a defining factor in their everyday experiences. While some Creoles acquiesced to racialized identities, others clung to Creole identity and viewed themselves as Latin people. Creole and Latin will be used interchangeably throughout this work. It is important to place Louisiana Creoles within this Latin context, because not only have Creoles historically viewed themselves as Latin (in opposition to Anglo), but Louisiana Creoles share most of the same defining attributes of every other Latin people in the Americas and Caribbean: Roman Catholicism, Latin-based languages, the same colonial-era legal code, a colonial ideology that emphasized the amalgamation of various cultures and people, and importantly, shared bloodlines, physical spaces, and a keen sense of disidentification with Anglo-America. Latin has represented a group identity constructed on shared culture rather than "racial" differences. American culture

[4] "The word Creole," *The Nebraska Advertiser*, 15 July 1858, p. 1. Some scholars discuss how Creoles disidentified with American identity and culture: Virginia R. Domínguez, *White By Definition: Social Classification in Creole Louisiana* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1993), 121; J. W. Blassingame, *Black New Orleans, 1860-1880* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), 155; Gary B. Mills and Elizabeth Shown Mills, *The Forgotten People: Cane River's Creoles of Color* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2013), xxii, 5, 151, 179.

inevitably influenced Creole culture and black and white-racialized identities increasingly became important to southwest Louisiana's Creoles in the 20th century.[5]

For Creoles, the term American has represented both the cultural identity and language of North American Anglophone Protestants, a distinction understood as well by Americans living in Creole regions of Louisiana. The *New Iberia Enterprise*'s American editor noted in 1885 a continued distinction between the two groups: "Although all men born here of whatever color and using whatever language, are Americans, it is the custom to designate the descendants of the old French, Spanish, and Acadian settlers of the country and using as a rule the French language, Creoles, and all using the English tongue, Americans." "American," as used in this work, will also refer to Anglo-American and African American people and culture.[6]

Chapters have been organized thematically and chronologically. The first chapter presents a community study of Creole Bayou Teche in Iberia, St. Martin, and Lafayette Parishes prior to World War I, and examines identity, work and residential patterns, languages, religion, and Creole attitudes toward Americans. Chapter two introduces and analyzes climatic, infrastructural, industrial, and demographic changes that contributed to the collapse of the local sugar plantation complex and challenged the cohesion of Creole communities dependent upon it during and immediately following World War I.

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[5] For commentary on, and explorations of, Louisiana Creoles and *latinité*, see for instance: "Who Are the Creoles?," *Phillipsburg Herald*, 20 June 1885, p. 1; Andrew Jolivette and Haruki Eda, "Louisiana Creoles and Latinidad: Locating Culture and Community," in *Converging Identities: Blackness in the Modern African Diaspora*, ed. Julius O. Adekunle and Hettie V. Williams (Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 2013): 273-83; Rain P. Cranford Gomez, "Hachotakni Zydeco's Round'a Loop Current: Indigenous, African, and Caribbean Mestizaje in Louisiana Literatures," *The Southern Literary Journal* 46, no. 2 (Spring, 2014): 88-107; Sidney J. Lemelle, "'The Circum-Caribbean' and the Continuity of Cultures: the Donato Colony in Mexico, 1830-1860," *Journal of Pan-African Studies* 6, no. 1 (July, 2013): 57-75; Mary Gehman, "The Mexico-Louisiana Creole Connection," *Louisiana Cultural Vistas* 11, no. 4 (Winter 2000-2001): 68-75.

[6] "A Proposed Exhibition of Human Ferocity," *New Iberia Enterprise*, 26 August 1885, p. 2.

Chapter three builds on the preceding chapter by examining how the Louisiana Roman Catholic Church confronted changes to its communities along the Teche during the same period. It also explores the rapid growth and visibility of Baptist and Methodist denominations in Creole communities and how the Louisiana Catholic hierarchy's reaction to these changes contributed to the Americanization process bifurcating Creole communities in the region. Chapter four investigates the flood of 1927 and the Great Depression and builds on the previous chapters by interrogating the impact of the flood and Depression – and the way those events further divided Creole communities along racialized lines and imposed English language. Chapter five investigates how Creole communities along the Teche recovered from the flood and depression in the 1930s and 1940s, with national popular music forms, academia, and Huey Long's gubernatorial and senatorial projects further Americanizing Creole communities. Chapter six concludes the thesis by interrogating the role of World War II in recalibrating the parameters of distance and proximity between whitened and blackened Creoles residing along the Teche. This final chapter endeavors to demonstrate how Americanized Creoles invested in whiteness and blackness out of necessity, placing each at odds with the other and engendering discord. What began as one Franco-Creolophone Catholic community of Creoles in chapter one ends with two racialized, anglicized, and Protestantized communities – sometimes resorting to violence to advance racialized agendas – by chapter six.

This work accesses Americanization of Creole communities in southwest Louisiana during the interwar period; analyzes how race marking impacted Creole communities along Bayou Teche; and interprets how Creoles responded to these changes absorbing them into 20th century Southern and national American mainstream cultures.

Chapter One: Identifying a Creole Hearth in Southwest Louisiana

Introduction

The Roman Catholic Church in Louisiana, through its inclusionary rituals and practices, bequeathed a more malleable understanding of race to Creole communities. Harriet Martineau – an English traveler visiting St. Louis Cathedral in New Orleans in 1835 – observed that: "within the edifice, there is no separation. [...] Kneeling on the pavement, [one can find] a multitude of every shade of complexion from the fair Scotchwoman or German to the jet black African." Similarly, parishioners of all colors sang together in Église Saint-Augustin's choir, another congregation in the Archdiocese of New Orleans. Canon Peter L. Benoit of the Mill Hill Fathers, a Catholic order of priests, noted in 1875 that in Francophone Catholic parishes in south Louisiana, "the position of the Negro here and that of the clergy towards him is materially different from that of most cities." A Methodist minister, in the 1880s, likewise witnessed: "lips of every shade by [the] hundreds [kissing] the same crucifixes, and fingers [of every color dipped] in the [same] 'holy water'." Additionally, the minister observed, "we have seen [nonwhites] sitting as others in every part of the [church]." For much of the 19th century therefore, the Catholic Church in south Louisiana was a consistently inclusive space, functioning as the axis of a shared cultural world. Inclusionary practices were not limited to colonial and antebellum Louisiana, however, and external pressures to racially segregate Catholic churches in south Louisiana were palpable soon after the Civil War.[7]

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[7]Harriet Martineau, *Retrospect of Western Travel*, 2 vols. (London: Saunder and Otley, 1838), 1:259, in Douglas Slawson, "Segregated Catholicism: The Origins of St. Katharine's Parish, New Orleans," *Vincentian Heritage Journal* 17, no. 3 (Oct., 1996): 75, 147; Charles B. Rousseve, *Negro in Louisiana* (New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1937), 40-41; Canon Peter L. Benoit,

Catholic clergy attending the Second and Third [Catholic] Plenary Councils in 1866 and 1884 convened to deliberate on providing separate Catholic institutions in the United States for black-racialized Catholics. The New Orleans Catholic Archdiocese was not interested in this idea. During the 1866 meeting, Archbishop Jean-Marie Odin and his assistant, Napoléon Joseph Perché, opposed segregation in Louisiana's Catholic churches, noting the absence of discrimination towards people of color in their ecclesiastic jurisdiction. In 1884, however, the Third Plenary Council issued a decree ordering separate facilities for blackened Catholics in the United States. Once again Louisiana Catholic leaders disapproved. "Distinct and separate churches are not advisable," wrote the Louisiana Archdiocesan Chancellor (Rev. L.A. Chassé) in 1888. "Experience has taught me that the colored people prefer to come to mass and to the sacraments with their white brethren as it is done now in all the churches where French language is spoken." Nevertheless, American Catholic leaders convened at Baltimore to agree on special accommodations for black-racialized people after the Civil War. Such efforts were futile, however, as the Archdiocese of New Orleans rejected any disturbance in the customs of the local Church on the grounds that Louisiana Catholic churches sufficiently cared for blackened Catholics. Blackened and whitened parishioners alike preferred to remain in integrated Catholic communities and so inclusivism characterized the status quo through the remainder of the 19th and early 20th centuries in south Louisiana Catholic churches.[8]

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diary, 9 April 1875, vol. 3, Mill Hills Fathers archives, Baltimore, in Dolores Egger Labbé, *Jim Crow Comes to Church: The Establishment of Segregated Catholic Parishes in South Louisiana* (New York: Arno Press, 1978), 17.

[8] Slawson, "Segregated Catholicism," 147-48; James B. Bennett, *Religion and the Rise of Jim Crow in New Orleans* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 146-47; Labbé, *Jim Crow Comes to Church*, 18-19; "Acta et Decreta Concilii Plenarii Baltimorensis III," cap. II, no. 238.

Despite significant pressures from the Baltimore-based US Catholic Council to segregate Catholic parishes, inclusive Catholicism persisted unimpeded in southwest Louisiana. There were 16 Roman Catholic churches in Iberia, Lafayette, and St. Martin Parishes before 1911 (Appendix L). All served parishioners without regard to "racial" difference. Moreover, in some parishes along the Teche, like St. Landry Church at Opelousas in 1914, parishioners of color exceeded the number of whitened Catholics. At Grand Côteau and St. Martinville, in 1914 and 1915, parishioners of color represented half of the congregants. In fact, inclusive Catholicism continued in southwest Louisiana long after the US Catholic Council at Baltimore had racially divided parishioners elsewhere in the nation. In these bayou communities, Creoles continued to seek inclusive houses of worship, evident in the demographics of churches along the Teche. Creoles demonstrably preferred Catholicism in south Louisiana for its inclusionary practices, but especially revered their Catholic Church because it united multicolored families. Any separations in the churches would entail divisions within families.[9]

Demonstrating the interconnectedness of Roman Catholicism, inclusivism or integrationism, French and Creole languages, kinship linkages, Creole identity and the sugarcane industry is this introductory chapter's purpose. These six elements were not mere coincidences; they bound Creole communities – themselves formed of immediate and extended families across the color line – and identity in Bayou Teche area communities. Not only did Creoles cohere around these elements, but they also lived in ethnically discrete communities and expressed strong views towards Americans

[9] St. Martin Catholic Church (St. Martinville, Louisiana), "parish reports" and "annual reports," 1910-1916, folder St Martin de Tours, Archives of the Catholic Diocese of Lafayette, Louisiana (hereinafter, ACDL); Sacred Heart of Jesus Catholic Church (Grand Côteau, Louisiana), "parish report of 1914," folder Grand Côteau, ACDL; St. Landry Catholic Church (Opelousas, Louisiana), "parish report of 1914," folder Opelousas St Landry, ACDL.

(Anglophone Protestants of all racialized identities), which helped maintain cultural boundaries between them.

As this thesis makes clear, the sugarcane industry and Roman Catholic Church of rural southwest Louisiana engendered the kind of "cultural hearth" that Donald W. Meinig studied in the American southwest. For scholars like Friedrich Ratzel, Leo Frobenius, and R. Fritz Gräbner, culture hearths are centers of cultural cohesion from which one can reconstruct and study cultural diffusion. Meining proposed a tripartite approach (core, domain, and sphere) for analyzing the decreasing influence of a culture with increased distance from the core, or center of the culture region. The core (hearth) represents the centralized zone that possesses all of the cultural traits used to define the region, people, and their culture. It is the heart and soul of the culture and is recognized as such by its people. The domain is the region in which the culture remains dominant but less intense due to factors such as distance and a slightly more diverse cultural demography. In the sphere, or the outermost orbit, people from the core are in the minority, and may still hold onto some of the core cultural traits, but are functionally bicultural.[10]

This model is particularly helpful in examining cultural diffusion in southwest Louisiana, where three core elements characterize the region's creole hearth zone: Louisiana Roman Catholicism, French and Creole languages, and sugarcane cultivation. St. Martin and Lafayette Parishes represent the hearth. Iberia and St. Landry serve as the

[10] Donald W. Meinig, *Southwest: Three Peoples in Geographic Change, 1600-1970* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971); D. Meinig, *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History*, 4 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986-2004); Paul A. Erickson and Liam D. Murphy, *A History of Anthropological Theory*, fourth ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 33; Wilbur Zelinsky, *The Cultural Geography of the United States* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1973, rev. ed., 1993), 116; Robert D. Mitchell, "The Southern Backcountry: A Geographical House Divided," in David Colin Crass, ed., *The Southern Colonial Backcountry: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Frontier Communities* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1998), 11.

domain, as native Anglophones dominated central business districts and civic projects in New Iberia and Opelousas, and Baptists, Methodists, and other Protestants became much more visible there. In the domain region, sugarcane dominated Iberia Parish, but shared prominence with cotton in St. Landry Parish (see Map 1). All other civil parishes north, south, and west of the hearth and domain represent the sphere, where the English language, Protestantism, and cotton and rice farming developed, where a minority of Creoles resided, and where the dominant cultural forms were more American. As the three core elements of the hearth changed both geographically and temporally, so did Creole culture, which, due to a number of factors, became more similar to other American communities over the course of the first few decades of the 20th century.

Identifying St. Martin Parish as the Creole cultural hearth is important. The civil parish itself remained the most culturally Creole in southwest Louisiana until World War II: Creole and French languages, Roman Catholicism, and sugarcane cultivation persisted there as dominant cultural forms longer than anywhere west of Bayou Teche. Moreover, it is the site where Creole culture began in southwest Louisiana midway in the 18th century when Louisiana French colonial officials established the Attakapas trading and military post at St. Martinville in 1756 and 1765, respectively. However, settlement patterns began earlier. André Masse, a Frenchman from Grenoble traded with various Indian racialized groups along the Mississippi and its tributaries, especially the Ishak or Atakapa in southwest Louisiana and southeast Texas, and settled in the Attakapas Post as early as the 1740s. He brought with him to the post nearly two dozens of Senegambian slaves to work his cattle ranches on Bayou Teche. At the post, the Senegambian slaves, who lived in fact as free people (*statu libre*), cohabited and intermixed with Ishak and Chitimacha people on the Teche. André Masse may have

fathered a few children with one enslaved Senegambian woman named Lisette. In 1765, Acadian refugees from British North America established a permanent Catholic church at St. Martinville (now called St. Martin de Tours), referred to locally as the "mother church" of the region. In 2003, the Lafayette City-Parish Government recognized the June 1756 date as the pivotal moment when the Creole culture of the region emerged and each year, in June, Vermilionville, a heritage and folk life park in Lafayette, celebrates 5 June as Creole Culture Day.[11]

1.1 Kinship Linkages

After decades of intermarriages and extramarital relationships, the inclusionary practices of southwest Louisiana Catholic churches mirrored the strong kinship bonds of parishioners within the churches. Amalgamation (blending of cultures and people) emerged as a relatively common phenomenon in southwest Louisiana, in part supported by the Catholic Church even when colonial and civil law forbade it (colonial and antebellum governments expressly forbade mixed "racial" civil marriages from 1699 to 1868 in Louisiana). In the Teche Country, priests officiated over and recorded over 20

[11] From 1756-1820, the Attakapas Post and District included the present-day civil parishes of St. Martin, Iberia, Lafayette, St. Mary, Vermilion, and part of Cameron. For Masse's presence in the Attakapas Post before 1765, see Archivo General de la Nación, Correspondencia de los Virreyes, vol. 1, Amarillas 1, 1755-1756 (Correspondencia de los Virreyes II, serie i, folio 264); Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Athanase de Mézières and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1768-1780* (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1914), in Shane K. Bernard, "Bayou Teche Dispatches," website, accessed 17 March 2012, http://bayoutechedispatches.blogspot.co.uk/2011/12/more-on-elusive-andre-masse-early_14.html. Magdeleine Masse and Françoise Masse, two full-sisters, were the only slaves belonging to Masse described as *mulâtresses*. Their mother, Lisette, scribes and clerks consistently described as *négresse*, and the remaining children born to Lisette and Pierre Masse, were described as *griffes* and *nègres*. Magdeleine and Françoise were baptized 5 June 1756 and both were described as *mulâtresse*. St. Martin Church, St. Martinville, La., baptismal book 1, page 2. Their brothers, Pierre, Dominique, and Claude Masse, were baptized 18 February 1762, all described as *nègres*. St. Martin Church, b. 1, p. 4. Lafayette City-Parish Government proclamation from personal files.

mixed marriages in the registers at St. Landry and St. Martin Parish churches during the late 18th and 19th centuries (see Appendix A). French-born men represented a majority in the mixed marriages before the Civil War, however, Creole men of color sometimes married whitened Creole (and non-Creole) women (again, see Appendix A). When the radically reconstructed state constitution of Louisiana (1868) enabled mixed racial (parochial and civil) marriages, the number of mixed marriages tripled in Teche Country alone (see Appendix B), while Teche area Catholic churches recorded nearly 60 mixed marriages between 1868 and 1898. During Reconstruction, Creoles (white and of color) dominated a majority of mixed marriages, particularly when the number of French migrants began to dwindle (see Table 6). So, while state authorities forbade such marriages, or frowned upon them socially, the Catholic Church officiated nuptials across the color line, which resulted in an increase in the hybridization of the colony – and later the state – of Louisiana. The Catholic Church's inclination to marry mixed spouses, despite civil and perhaps some social opposition, reinforced a sense of distinctiveness in Creole culture. But it equally reinforced kinship links and strengthened local community bonds in the process. Creoles managed to capitalize still further from Catholic dogma since the Catholic Church frowned on extramarital relationships, and forbade concubinage in canon law, irrespective of the color of the parties involved.

In fact, the Vatican had officially condemned concubinage since antiquity. In Louisiana, as early as 1786, the Spanish government of Louisiana issued a *Bando de buen gobierno* (city ordinance) in which it expressed that persons living in concubinage would be severely persecuted. Virginia Domínguez concluded that this act lay merely in "an officially color-blind statement of support for the position of the Catholic Church."

Thus, when Alexandre Arceneaux of Grand Côteau married a *mulâtresse affranchie*[12] named Mary Beck in 1860, the Sacred Heart of Jesus priest officiating the marriage happily blessed the couple's union, noting in the marriage entry that the couple had "liv[ed] together for 25 to 26 years." The difference in color of the bride and groom mattered little: Catholic custom trumped any prohibitions that civil law set forth due to caste or race. The priest's mention of the couple's many years of concubinage, show his concern over cohabitation and relief for their marriage. Such interventions between local priests (eager to solemnize marriage rather than condone concubinage) and parishioners on Catholic marital preferences were commonplace.[13]

A similar mixed marriage occurred in St. Martin Parish in 1893. Onésime Élisée Thibodeaux (whitened) and Élizabeth Locus (*négresse*), both of Grand Bois, near Breaux Bridge, had been cohabiting for over 30 years. Thibodeaux came from a large family and was directly related to three of the five largest families in the area. This linked the Thibodeaux-Locus children to an extensive kinship network, who acknowledged and knew them well. Allegedly, Father Borias, the pastor at St. Bernard Catholic Church, often urged Thibodeaux to make official their union in the Church. However, the obstinate Thibodeaux always replied: "I know what I have to do" and avoided Borias by taking off on horseback into the woods behind the Thibodeaux home. Finally, with death approaching, on 23 December 1893, Thibodeaux called for Borias to bless his marriage to Locus and legitimate their eight mulâtre children. The groom died six days later and the children inherited their father's portion of the estate. Borias and the

[12] *Mulâtresse* refers to a honey-colored woman with curly hair. *Affranchi* (male) or *affranchie* (female) was an emancipated person from slavery.

[13] Domínguez, *White By Definition*, 25; H. A. Gaynor, "Concubinage," *The Catholic Encyclopedia* 4 (New York: Robert Appleton Co., 1908); Sacred Heart of Jesus Catholic Church (Grand Côteau, LA), 12 October 1860, Marriage Book vol. 4, p. 27.

whitened first cousins of the children testified on their behalf. Catholic religious concerns about cohabitation thus indirectly supported mixed racial marriages, even when civil law outlawed – and social customs frowned on – these unions. Additionally, these marriages strengthened the interconnectedness of Creole communities. Importantly, these connections of families across the color line reinforced hybridity and malleability of race in Creole communities.[14]

However, legalized mixed marriage, amalgamation, and transfer of property across the color line came to a grinding halt during Jim Crow. In 1894, the Anglophone dominant Louisiana legislature re-enacted the state's 1812 statute forbidding mixed marriages. For a brief period after the Civil War, Louisiana was the only state in the South to repeal anti-miscegenation laws during Reconstruction and beyond. However, this changed rapidly from the 1890s onward when Anglophone lawmakers prohibited the transfer of land between "races." Legislative and race-conscious restrictions culminated in 1908 when the Louisiana legislature, in its regular session, passed Act 87, ruling concubinage "between a person of the Caucasian race and a person of the Negro race, a felony." Act 87, part of a growing pattern of legislation across the South to divide the population "racially," criminalized "race-mixing." Enactment of anti-miscegenation

[14] *Négresse* refers to dark-brown complexioned women with coarse hair. St. Bernard Catholic Church (Breaux Bridge, LA), Marriage b. 2, p. 139; St. Martin Parish Courthouse (St. Martinville, LA), Succession #2859. Thibodeaux was one of 10 children born to Elphège Paul Élisée Thibodeaux and Marie Amélie Thibodeaux: 1) Élisée, b. 26 April 1815, 2) Zénon, b. 12 August 1816, 3) Marie Félonise, b. 22 November 1817, 4) Azélie Séraphine, b. 19 April 1819, 5) Onésime, b. 8 November 1820, 6) Louis Bélisaire, b. 14 August 1826, 7) Isaac, b. 20 January 1828, 8) Anne, b. 13 January 1830, 9) Félicianne, b. 9 March 1832, 10) Uranie, b. 27 February 1835; all baptized at St Martin Church. Isaac married 21 February 1851 Marcélite Élodie Leblanc at the St Martin Church, linking the Thibodeauxs to the Leblanc family by marriage. Three of Onésime's father's siblings married Broussards: Séraphine Thibodeaux married 8 August 1814 Jean Broussard; Joseph Chevalier Thibodeaux married 11 September 1798 Pélagie Broussard; and Marie-Rose Thibodeaux married 8 January 1799 Jean Ursin or Sarazin Broussard. See Appendix I for more information of the Grand Bois families.

laws abruptly and formally prohibited the decades of unions across the color line in Creole communities. But importantly, the act had a profound impact on the maintenance of the Creole community, as the law began a process of eroding community bonds through segregationist measures. The local Catholic Church could only acquiesce to such severe consequences. But while the law drew a line between Creole families based on a hardened understanding of race, it simultaneously legalized Creole cultural descriptors. As a result, Creoles in legal, parochial, and popular contexts continued to make distinctions between nègres, mulâtres, *griffes, griffons,* and *quarterons*, the products of generations of population hybridization (see Image 1).[15]

In the context of Act 87, lawmakers struggled drawing the color line in the Creole civil parishes, as it was not well understood who fell into the black category. Could it be nègre in the Creole sense (a physical descriptor)? Or perhaps Negro in the Anglophone sense (a racial/biological category)? The 1910 *State of Louisiana vs. Treadaway* case proved emblematic of the difficulties of imposing racial binaries in south Louisiana. Octave Isidore Treadaway, a whitened Creole from Plaquemines Parish, married his childhood neighbor Joséphine Lightell, also Creole, in New Orleans on 1 July 1907. Orleans Parish officials indicted the couple for violating Act 87. The plaintiffs

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[15] *Griffe* refers to copper complexioned people; *griffon* refers to copper complexioned people with yellow tones; *quarteron* refers to people with white skin with a tinge of yellow or copper tonation. Domínguez, *White By Definition*, 28, 43, 69. Louisiana, Acts, no. 54 (1894), 63; Elizabeth Alexander, "An Intimacy Color Line in the Jim Crow South," review of *Dangerous Liaisons: Sex and Love in the Segregated South*, by Charles Frank Robinson, II, November 2014, H-SAWH Book Review, https://www.h-net.org/reviews/showpdf.php?id=9988. See Fairclough, *A Better Day Coming*, 23-40; Pamela B. Haag, *Consent: Sexual Rights and the Transformation of American Liberalism,* (New Rochelle: Cornell University Press, 1999), 130; Mia Bay, *To Tell the Truth Freely: The Life of Ida B Wells* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2010); Martha Hodes, *White Women, Black Men: Illicit Sex in the Nineteenth Century South* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999). See also Charles Joyner, *Shared Traditions: Southern History and Folk Culture* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), who contends that these unions, common as they were, were rarely recognized or acknowledged. J. William Harris, ed., *The New South: New Histories (Rewriting Histories)* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 93.

argued that Lightell was an "octoroon."[16] The Louisiana Supreme Court affirmed the lower court's decision that an octoroon, while a person of color, was not of the Negro race. The judiciary acquitted the defendants. Judicial leaders, led by the Creole Frank D. Chrétien, who supported the lower court's decision, ultimately affirmed the Spring 1910 judgment in the Gay-Shattuck law, which legalized griffes and mulattoes (copper and tan persons) as persons of color (not as Negroes) who could frequent liquor establishments with whites. Creoles of color, at least insofar as Chrétien and the judiciary agreed, could – and did – marry whites (Appendix P).[17]

Chrétien's support of distinctions between persons of color and Negroes reflected the Creole understanding of colors as physical descriptors, not racializers. Chrétien's own family played a role in his support of the Creole understanding of color, for his father, the late François Dasincourt Chrétien, fathered two mulâtre children (Prosper and Héloïse Chrétien) with a négresse slave from Kentucky named Fanny. Chrétien, the elder, had not only fathered them, he provided for their emancipation in his last will and testament and left Prosper with thousands of *arpents*[18] of land to manage. This made Prosper Chrétien one of the most well endowed inhabitants – and according to the editor of the *St. Martin Weekly Messenger*, an "esteemed fellow" citizen – of St. Martin Parish.

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[16] A term that appears in English in Louisiana in the Jim Crow years, presumably to denote a person who is ⅛ Negro, and ⅞ Caucasian. No such blood quantum expression exists for "octoroon" in French nor Spanish in Louisiana, although many contemporary historians retroactively ascribe the 20th century term in English to Latin physical descriptors in French and Spanish.

[17] Domínguez, *White By Definition*, 29. In fact, this entire study is about Creole land ownership and donations across racial groups and how Louisiana law came to restrict transfer of land across races, culminating in rigid laws in the 1910s and 1920s. On the Gay-Shattuck law, see *St. Martin Weekly Messenger*, 30 April 1910, p. 3. *State of Louisiana v. Treadway*, 126 Louisiana reports 300. Louisiana Vital Records, vol. 29 p. 222.

[18] A unit of measure from the early French colonial era that continued in usage well into the 20th century in south Louisiana.

So, while statutes sought to draw a definitive color line in early 20th century Louisiana, the Creole understanding of color prevailed in the final judicial decision, and in Creole spaces. This observation does force one to (re)consider the efficacy of definitive binary color lines if courts would rule in favor of blurred color lines. These decisions ultimately retained the distinctiveness in Creole culture and legally permitted families to fraternize despite differences in phenotype. And thus, Creole communities across south Louisiana in the earliest decades of the 20th century continued to be multicolored both in practice and in law.[19]

1.2 Ethnicity & Kinship

Extensive kinship linkages between Creoles of all phenotypes characterized the hearth and Teche region. Between 1900 and 1917, well over 40 marriages between Creoles of color across civil parish lines occurred (Appendix Q). Among contracting parties between St. Martin and Lafayette Parishes, the Aubrys, Labbés, Breauxs, Girouards, and Broussards were related to the Le Normand, Champagne, Landry and Henriot families. In Iberia Parish, the Boutté, Frilot, Olivier, Destouet, and other related families, married into the Orso, Décuir, de la Houssaye, Thériot, St. Julien, and Abat families of lower St. Martin Parish, who themselves shared close genealogical relationships. Marriages between entire family nodes within and across parishes demonstrate continued strong Creole family bonds in the early 20th century.

Of course Creoles of all colors practiced inter-parochial and inter-communal marriages, also. Whitened Creoles in Iberia, St. Martin and St. Landry Parishes

[19] "Succession of François D. Chrétien," 15 December 1858, St. Martin Parish Courthouse, Succession no. 1621; 1880 U.S. Census, Plaquemines Parish, Ward 10, E.D. 146, p. 2, dwellings 12 and 13; Quote on Prosper Chrétien from the *Weekly Messenger*, 28 September 1889, p. 1.

(relatives of Creoles of color) married extensively from the 18th through the 20th centuries. As an example, district judge Félix A. Voorhies of St. Martinville, author of "Reminiscences of an old Creole family," married Modeste Potier, a Creole of the Parks area of St. Martin Parish. Their family grew to include 11 children: Édouard, Félix Étienne, Charles Louis, Albert Potier, Robert Ducrest, Marie Cécile, Joseph Paul Émile, Émile Walter Francis, Marie Lucie, Jean Sosthène, and Marie Modeste Cidalise. Two of the Voorhies children married Creoles from New Iberia. Two more married Mouton cousins from Lafayette with immediate ties to Carencro and Opelousas. Charles Louis Voorhies married Marie-Louise Simon, a Creole of Opelousas. Jean Sosthène Voorhies married Éloïse Marie Anne Broussard, a Creole from Breaux Bridge with close relatives from both parents to New Iberia, Loreauville, and Belle-Place. In one generation, the children of the 16th judicial district judge and his wife, linked many communities in Iberia, St. Martin, Lafayette and St. Landry Parishes (Appendix R). In addition to the Voorhies family ties through marriage, through their parents (Félix and Modeste), they connected to the very large Mouton family (through their paternal grandmother) in Lafayette, St. Landry, St. Martin, Iberia and St. James Parishes. All Moutons in south Louisiana in the 20th century descend from Acadian exiles Jean Salvadore Mouton and Anne Bastarache. Such extensive marriages consolidated community bonds, strengthened a sense of Creole unity, and perpetuated Creole culture and customs throughout the region.[20]

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[20] *Weekly Messenger*, 18 June 1887, p. 4. Jerry Mouton, "The Moutons: an Acadian Family of Carencro, Louisiana, and Environs," website, http://www.moutons.org/Genealogy/ (accessed: 12 March 2014); Rev. Donald Hébert, *Southwest Louisiana Records* (Rayne, LA: Hébert Publications, 2008), vols. 1A-21; Anne Boltin, ed., *Diocese of Baton Rouge Catholic Church Records* (Baton Rouge: Diocese of Baton Rouge), vols. 1A, 1B, 2.

Given the strong family ties across the region and across color lines, Creole communities throughout southwest Louisiana, in particular rural ones, remained overwhelmingly racially integrated through the earliest decades of the 20th century. Neither Opelousas, nor St. Martinville, or Lafayette passed city ordinances before World War I to racially segregate its residential neighborhoods; although Jim Crow presumably separated some public spaces. In fact, Creole leaders in Opelousas and Lafayette supported cohabitation of white-identified residents and persons of color, provided that the two groups shared the same values. In 1900, the Lafayette publisher Omer Mouton – a relative of the Voorhies – welcomed persons of color exhibiting "commendable habits of industry" to live in or remain in downtown Lafayette. Léonce Sandoz, editor of the *Opelousas Courier*, echoed Mouton's position in 1903. "We do not mean to say that those colored people who own their residence should be forced to leave them," Sandoz clarified. "[T]hose colored citizens who conduct themselves properly, and keep their premises clean and neat" Sandoz invited to reside in the central business district of the town. For residents whose values clashed with those of the middle-class townspeople, Sandoz petitioned the local Board of Alderman to enact an ordinance establishing "coon towns" where poor whitened citizens and poor persons of color would be relocated from the town's center. Although bigoted, Sandoz's contention did not lay in colorism, per se. Instead, he advocated for industrious and cleanly families to replace less fortunate residents. For Sandoz, upwardly mobile residents with tidy yards and nice homes should only inhabit the town's main square.[21]

[21] Sylvie Dubois and Barbara M. Horvath, "Creoles and Cajuns: A Portrait in Black and White," *American Speech* 78, no. 2 (Summer, 2003): 193-94; *The Gazette*, Saturday, 15 December 1900, p. 2; *Opelousas Courier*, 8 August 1903, p. 1. In other parts of the country, blacks and whites were segregated. The Bon Air Sales Company ran ads in Washington, DC, promising homes "where the Negro is segregated in transportation [and] where there is no menace to property values,"

Consequently, urban and rural Creole communities along the Teche remained overwhelmingly multicolored. Carencro (Lafayette Parish) and Grand Marais (Iberia Parish) stand out as examples of rural Creole communities of multiple races linked to one another through family marriages and agrarian culture. Census marshals identified 50% of Carencro residents in 1910 as white, while blacks and mulattoes accounted for the remainder of the district population (Appendix G). Of the 41 pages enumerated in that decennial census year at Carencro, census enumerators identified only one with all whitened residents (page 1). On all other pages, white-identified and persons of color lived interspersed with rare exceptions of clusters of homes of one race enumerated. Similarly, at Grand Marais, where white and mulatto residents totaled 46% each, monoracial residential patterns existed uncommonly (Appendix H). For example, census marshals enumerated less than a quarter of the pages for Grand Marais as monoracially white; all others included white-identified residents and residents of color. These mixed residential patterns reflect not only the Creole community's malleable approach to race but the inclusionary legacy of the local Catholic churches, for both St. Nicholas Catholic Church in Patoutville and St. Peter at Carencro continuously served parishioners without regard to color.[22]

Washington Times, 3 July 1914, p. 12. Rev. John Albert Williams (black) was offered segregated housing for black families in Omaha, Nebraska–*Omaha Daily Bee*, 3 April 1913, p. 12. Indeed there were entire towns, known as "Sundown Towns," where nonwhites could work for whites, but not reside. See James W. Loewen, *Sundown Towns: A Hidden Dimension of American Racism* (The New Press, 2005).

[22] 1910 U.S. Census, Lafayette Parish, Police Jury Ward 6, E.D. 74, pp. 1-41; ibid., Iberia Parish, Police Jury Ward 1, E.D. 11, pp. 1-10; St. Peter Catholic Church (Carencro, LA), "Parish Report" (1910-1915); St. Nicholas Catholic Church (Lydia, LA), "Parish Report" (1910-1915), folder Lydia, ACDL. An example of marriages linking the two communities is in the Voorhies family's in-laws. Joseph Frank Dauterive, through both his father and mother, was closely related to the Boutté family of Grand Marais, and to the Patout family of Patoutville on his mother's Décuir side.

The central business districts of Lafayette and St. Martinville exemplified two urban Creole communities with mixed racial co-residential patterns along the Teche in the immediate years before World War I. St. Martinville, birthplace of the Voorhies family, a town of 2,300 residents, featured a post office, mayor's office, fire departments, town lots and other urban amenities. Whitened and blackened residents lived among one another on Main Street, the town's main thoroughfare. The 1910 census showed no visible signs of racially segregated housing in the town's central district. In fact, these mixed racial residential patterns dominated the entire town's enumerations. Out of 49 enumeration pages for St. Martinville proper, one can only locate monoracial white-identified residents on two pages and only three pages contained no white-racialized residents, at all. Residential patterns in the 1910 census in other towns and cities in the region followed the same patterns.[23]

Lafayette, to the west of St. Martinville, home to the Mouton family, grew rapidly in the first decades of the 20th century, but mixed racial residential patterns in its business district persisted. In 1910, Louis F. Salles, census marshal and hotel manager by trade, enumerated some 6,300 residents in the burgeoning town. Eighty-three percent of all enumeration pages included white residents living alongside residents of color. The remaining 7% accounted for blocks of streets, but not entire streets, where whitened residents and residents of color resided exclusively. So, while white-identified residents represented a plurality of residents on the centrally located Garfield and Clinton Streets, a mixture of whites and persons of color lived on streets traversing and bordering

[23] 1910 U.S. Census, St. Martin Parish, St. Martinville, ED 126, pp. 1-49. Of course integrated residential districts existed throughout the nation, including elsewhere in Louisiana. See 1910 US Census, Orleans Parish, New Orleans, Ward 7, ED 104 where whites, mulattoes, blacks and many white immigrants lived as neighbors. For Philadelphians, who referred to southern segregation as "odious," see *St. Landry Clarion*, 17 August 1918, p. 6.

Garfield and Clinton. Thus, a visitor to downtown Lafayette and St. Martinville in 1910 would have found most streets inhabited by whites and persons of color. These findings suggest that while other communities throughout the nation passed ordinances to prevent nonwhites from living in central business districts, downtown Lafayette did not follow that trend. However, these dark- and fair-skinned Creoles did not simply co-reside in these rural communities; they mixed, too, and formed historically mixed townships where large numbers of mulattoes could be found in Creole communities throughout the Teche Country.[24]

The shared world structured by Roman Catholicism and expressed in housing patterns, facilitated the emergence of large numbers of mulattoes in Creole communities. In fact, in the 1910s, mulattoes were plentiful in Creole civil parishes. For instance, in the ten Louisiana parishes where mulattoes represented large numbers in 1910, seven lay in the Creole hearth (see Table 5). Teche Country parishes such as St. Landry, Lafayette and St. Martin, ranked in the top 10 civil parishes in 1910, where mulattoes represented 18% (Lafayette) and 17% (St. Landry and St. Martin) of the total parish population (ibid.). Within these parishes, mulattoes exceeded parish-wide totals in certain enclaves, such as in Grand Marais and Carencro (Table 6). These figures serve as evidence that residents of these Teche area civil parishes did more than simply share pews at the local Catholic Church, farms in the country, and cottages in town. The Catholic churches in southwest Louisiana facilitated comingling in these Creole communities, which resulted in a large mixed population of European, African, and First Nations mixed culture and genealogical trees. Historic mixing between the various groups whose progeny became

[24] Ibid.; 1910 U.S. Census, Lafayette Parish, Lafayette, E.D. 70, pp. 1-83.

Creoles, not only came in various phenotypes, but Creoles themselves employed very specific words to capture those phenotypical differences.[25]

In place of racializers like Negro and white, Creoles employed historic Latin descriptors to capture visible nuances in the various hues and hair textures amongst themselves, a tradition dating back to the earliest days of the colony. In fact, French and Spanish administrators and clergypersons layered Louisiana with a multitude of Latin descriptors. The index of the 5th baptismal register of free persons of color in New Orleans from 1792-1798 listed a small glossary for abbreviations of *nègre libre* (n.l.), *quarteron libre* (q.l.) and *tierceron libre* (t.l.). In civil and judicial records in colonial and early national Louisiana, Gwendolyn Midlo Hall observed nègre or *negro*, griffe or *grifo*, *sauvage* or *índio*, mulâtre or *mulato*, *mulatto griffe*, *mulatto rouge*, quarteron or *pardo*, *métif* or *mestizo* and *chino*. These descriptors proved particularly important in positively identifying persons of color in slave transactions. In 1856, for instance, surveyors inventoried nègres, griffes, griffons, mulâtres on the plantation of the late Edmond B. Marmillion. Each of these terms represented the various shades of brown which

[25] For the convergence of multiple continental origins of Creoles, see for instance: Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995) and Daniel H. Usner, *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy: The Lower Mississippi Valley Before 1783* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993). For links of Creole families to Hispaniola, see Nathalie Dessens, *From Saint-Domingue to New Orleans: Migration and Influences* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2010); Emily Clark, *The Strange History of the American Quadroon: Free Women of Color in the Revolutionary Atlantic World* (Chapel Hill: University Press of North Carolina, 2013). For genealogical and cultural ties between Creoles and Mexico, see Lemelle, "'The Circum-Caribbean' and the Continuity of Cultures," 57-75; Gehman, "The Mexico-Louisiana Creole Connection," 68-75; Charles Kinzer, "The Tio Family: Four Generations of New Orleans Musicians, 1814-1933" (PhD diss., Louisiana State University, 1993). On the Acadian and Creole connections, see Brasseaux, *Acadian to Cajun*; Brasseaux, *The Founding of New Acadia: The Beginnings of Acadian Life in Louisiana, 1765-1803* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997). There are many studies on the interconnectedness of Creole families in Louisiana. See Mills and Shown Mills, *The Forgotten People*; Carl A. Brasseaux, Claude F. Oubre, Keith P. Fontenot, *Creoles of Color in the Bayou Country* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1996) and James H. Dormon, *Creoles of Color: Gulf South* (Nashville: University of Tennessee Press, 1996).

accounted for hybridization within the population, a tradition found in all new world Latin-based cultures (Appendix C). After the emancipation of slaves, official use of these physical descriptors ended in parochial registers as Catholic churches no longer maintained separate registers for whites and persons of color. Consequently, in the general registers after the Civil War, Catholic clerics no longer employed physical descriptors for persons of color, and the plethora of terms gradually decreased to a few (nègre, griffe, mulâtre, morani, clair).[26]

The switch from a ternary to a quasi-binary racial system in 1910 further discouraged and reduced Latin terminologies for skin complexions in Louisiana. One month after the final ruling in the Treadaway case, the legislature responded to Octave Treadaway and Joséphine Lightell's acquittal on miscegenation charges by passing Act 206 of 1910, which barred both persons of color and blacks from cohabiting and living in concubinage with whites. Accordingly, Native Americans, Chinese, East Indians, quadroons, griffes, and other persons of color could not marry white-racialized residents. Legislators copied virtually all of Act 206 from Act 87, except that Act 206 substituted "person of the negro or black race" with "person of the colored or black race." That the Louisiana legislature in 1910 included persons of color in the ban on cohabitation and concubinage with whites does clearly illustrate a transition from a ternary or tripartite racial system to a quasi-binary one. In addition, Louisiana law disenfranchised all persons of color at that time. But Act 87 did only that; it did not blacken all persons of color. For the time being, the Louisiana legislature and Supreme Court quasi distinguished other

[26] St. Louis Cathedral (New Orleans, LA), Baptêmes de couleur, book 1795-98, vol. 5, index, p. 3; Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, "Afro-Louisiana History and Genealogy," website, http://www.ibiblio.org/laslave/fields.php (accessed 12 March 2012); "Original Slave Inventory," *San Francisco Plantation*, website, http://www.sanfranciscoplantation.org/history_SL1856.asp (accessed 12 March 2012).

people of color from blacks. Additionally, 1910 federal census enumerators racially classed citizens as white, Native Americans, octoroons, quadroons, mulattoes, and Negroes, albeit for different reasons. While Louisiana legislators and justices hesitated to dichotomize racial identity in the state, ordinary people and journalists in Creole communities in Louisiana continued to distinguish physical differences in the local people.[27]

Informally, editors of local papers recognized and employed three of the original Latin terms – brown (nègre), copper (griffe), tan (mulâtre) in the first two decades of the 20th century. On 8 February 1908, the *Opelousas Courier* notified readers that "a griffe mulatto, aged about twenty-four years [...] was arrested in Rayne." At Lafayette, "on the afternoon of Oct. 25, 1911, a large colored man (a griffe), came to my residence and gave me Fifty Dollars," the white-identified American J. G. Parkerson reported in the *Lafayette Advertiser*. In Vermilion Parish, a "colored" woman bore triplets in 1912. The *New Iberia Enterprise* observed that: "the most interesting feature of the triplets was the fact that two of the children were perfectly white, while the other bore the resemblance of a dark mulatto." The *Enterprise* also noted that "the children were intelligent looking." In the latter case, the English-speaking editor of the *Enterprise* further qualified the descriptor with "dark," an uncommon usage in French or Spanish, since the very terms themselves denoted varying degrees of darkness and lightness of brownness. Above all,

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[27] Act 87 of the regular session, p. 105; Domínguez, *White by Definition*, pp. 31-32. Tennessee enacted the first "one drop of negro blood" legislation in 1910 and appears to have been the only state to have done so until that point. Other states, like Arkansas and Virginia, relied on physique alone to determine whiteness or blackness. And still others, like Alabama, passed legislation defining blackness in certain quantities of black ancestry. See E. Nathan Gates, *Racial Classification and History* (New York: Taylor & Francis, 1997), 48. In other states, such as Mississippi, where Chinese were classed as black for a time, and Arkansas, non-European features sufficed for those persons to be socially and legally as black. James W. Loewen, *The Mississippi Chinese: Between Black and White* (Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, 1998), 59-72.

Creole descriptors complicated Anglophone binary categorization and remained within common parlance.[28]

American inability or lack of interest in Creole physical descriptors may be linked to issues of perception embedded in the English language. Psychologists Roger Brown and Eric Lenneberg conducted experiments to determine whether color perceptions varied between speakers of different languages. Siegfried Wyler concluded in his study, *Colour and Language: Colour Terms in English*, that English-speakers often reduced colors for objects by a process of "radicalization." Radicalization refers to the propensity of a group of persons to choose or "see" color terms at the extremes rather than the many nuances of hue. In English, for example, bread (the food) is typically a shade of tan or beige. However, English-speakers "see" brown, the far end of the spectrum. Similarly, Anglophones often refer to ginger hair as "red," and "black" supersedes many shades of brown for hair color. Importantly, Wyler noted that radicalization of color terms "implies a loss of differentiation and descriptive precision." If this radicalization, as Wyler studied, is most often applied to objects for speakers of English, then, as he observed, it can also occur for hues of the skin of people. "When 'white people' are in sorrow, suffer pain or grief, or are stricken with fear or terror, their faces 'turn white.' How is it possible that the face of a 'white person' turns 'white' with fear [if they're already 'white']?," Wyler asked. According to his interrogation, English language culture lacked the ability to perceive fine gradations in hues in humans and in some objects. This could very well explain the conundrum English-speakers faced while living in south Louisiana where Louisiana Creoles used many physical descriptors to describe people and their phenotype. The hardening of race – expressed in binary terms supporting segregationist

[28] *The Opelousas Courier*, 8 February 1908, p. 1; *Lafayette Advertiser*, 10 September 1912, p. 1; *St. Landry Clarion*, 8 June 1912, p. 6.

laws and ordinances – alarmed Creoles, as they could potentially erode their multicolored historic and genealogically-linked communities. Other legislation – defined by American legislators that threatened Creole community bonds – soon followed.[29]

In 1900, the Louisiana legislature amended article 97 of the revised Louisiana civil code which forbade marriage between first cousins. This inevitably upset many Louisianians, Creoles included. In January 1901, the St. James Parish clerk of court denied a couple of Creole first cousins a marriage license on the basis of their kinship. The couple hired a team of attorneys who issued a mandamus compelling the clerk to issue the marriage license. The clerk again rejected. Finally, Judge Paul Earche of the 23rd district court (St. James Parish) found in favor of the couple; but only because the legislature failed to properly pass the amendment. In April of the same year, the Louisiana Supreme Court found the amendment unconstitutional. The St. Martinville *Weekly Messenger* enthusiastically notified its readership that "First cousins may marry [again]" in a headline on April 11. Some neighboring states permitted marriage between first cousins, however, and many Louisianians traveled to those states to contract marriage. Because other states permitted consanguineous marriages, it also legalized the marriages upon arrival in Louisiana. But in 1904, the Louisiana legislature, abreast of interstate nuptials, invalidated these marriages. Finally in 1906, legislators in Louisiana

[29] Siegfried Wyler, *Colour and Language: Colour Terms in English* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1992), 9, 92. In "The Hybrid and the Problem of Miscegenation," Louis Wirth and Herbert Goldhamer tackled the issue of "unilateral race mixing," since the mixture affects only nonwhites with no perceptible changes to the physiognomy of whites. For issues with color distinctions in the English-speaking US, see Otto Kleineberg, ed., *Characteristics of the American Negro* (New York: 1944), 253-54; Werner Sollors, *Neither Black Nor White Yet Both: Thematic Explorations on Interracial Literature* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 112-141; Carl N. Degler, *Neither Black Nor White: Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1971), 102; George M. Frederickson, *White Supremacy: A Comparitive Study of American and South African History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 95. Consider also R. Brown and E. Lenneberg, "A Study in Language and Cognition," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 49, no. 3 (1954): 454-62.

ruled out of state marriages between close cousins from Louisiana felonious. The *Alexandria Town Talk* found the 1906 measure "pretty hard on cousins who love each other and desire to be that for life." The 1906 criminalization of first cousins greatly diminished inter-familial marriages. That Creoles resorted to hiring attorneys to fight the original amendment indicates a strong desire to contract marriage within families. Communities would have to seek additional means for ensuring cohesion.[30]

Communities also reinforced bonds between their members through inter-communal marriages. Hilaire and Marie, two children of Joseph Ozenne and Geneviève Olivier, residents of Grand Marais/Patoutville, took two Olivier siblings as spouses. At Côteau, two of the children born to Démas Hilaire Décuir and Félicité Singleton (first cousins) married siblings from the same vicinity. At Grand Bois, Félicianne and Louise, daughters of Onézime Thibodeaux and Élizabeth Locus (discussed previously), both wed the same Thibodeaux man. That Creoles looked to neighbors for marriage partners instead of close cousins offers an indication of the primacy Creoles placed on community and community members. It also suggests that they may have been savvy, recognizing that close consanguineous (blood) marriage faced legal restrictions, so they turned to extended family or community marriages as an alternative means to sustain Creole cohesion. As a result, Creole communities became recognizable by the families who belonged to them.[31]

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[30] *Weekly Messenger*, 13 April 1901, p. 4; ibid., 6 October 1906, p. 2; *The Meridional*, 19 January 1901, p. 1; Domínguez, *White by Definition*, 60-1.

[31] Hilaire Wilfred Ozenne married 12 Feb 1901 Marie Lucille Olivier, St. Nicholas Catholic Church (Lydia, La.), Marriage Book vol. 2, p. 293; Marie Laure Ozenne married 11 Jan 1915 Niquaise Olivier, Iberia Parish Courthouse (New Iberia, La.), Marriage Book vol. 2, p. 115. Joseph Alceste Décuir married 22 Oct 1908 Lilia Ozenne, St. Peter Catholic Church (New Iberia, La.), Marriage Book vol. 14, p. 168; Marie América Décuir married 6 Oct 1908, ibid. vol. 14, p. 7. Félicianne Thibodeaux married 27 Jan 1890 Paul Thibodeaux, St. Bernard Catholic

Surnames therefore served as community markers of distinct ethnic clustering. At Grand Bois in St. Martin Parish, Creole surnames represented a majority in the 1910 census. The five most frequent surnames at Grand Bois included Thibodeaux, Leblanc, Landry, Guidry and Broussard. Out of 144 households listed, only four households carried non-Creole surnames; Creole surnames represented the remainder of family names (see Appendix K). In Carencro, 97% of inhabitants enumerated carried Creole surnames, while Anglophone surnames represented the remaining 3%. The Préjeans, Broussards, Guilbeaus, Babineaux and Domingues represented the most common Creole family names at Carencro (see Appendix J). At Grand Marais, 100% of inhabitants carried Creole surnames (see Appendix L). Creoles clearly preferred to reside in Creole communities. Additionally, surname frequency suggests that residential patterns mirrored kinship enclaves. Creoles preferred inter-marriage among relatives because it ensured maintenance of land within families and left community structure in the hands of certain familial groups. Further, it demonstrates that although some Americans and other non-Creoles lived in the immediate environs, few permeated Creole cultural zones.

Strong, cohesive Creole familial bonds shaped southwest Louisiana in multiple ways. Marriage and settlement patterns tended to reinforce the unity of Creoles. These patterns also strengthened community and cross family ties, which ensured that Creoles often exhibited "clannish" tendencies, to quote Adam Fairclough, an historian of black New Orleans. Marriage and settlement ensured an unbroken passage of Creole culture where shared values, cultural understanding, including phenotypical signifiers, passed down generationally. The fact that marriage and baptisms occurred in local Catholic

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Church (Breaux Bridge, La.), Marriage Book vol. 2, p. 264; Louise Thibodeaux married 7 Nov 1906 Paul Thibodeaux, ibid., vol. 2, p. 195B.

churches tended to reinforce the ties that bound Creole and Catholic Louisiana together.[32]

1.3 Shared languages in sugarcane workspaces

Sugarcane cultivation, an historically important economy to Louisiana, helped unify Creole culture still further by reinforcing close contact between Creoles. In fact, north of St. Mary Parish, Creoles dominated the industry. In Iberia and St. Martin Parishes in 1910, census enumerators counted 3,223 farmers and 4,802 laborers. Creoles represented most farmers: 87% in Iberia and 97% in St. Martin (see Table 6). Creoles factored as the majority of the laborers in the two parishes as well with 65% in Iberia Parish and 97% in St. Martin Parish (Table 7). Additionally, in Loreauville, Petite Anse, Nico Town, Belle Place, Olivier, the hinterland of Loreauville, Côteau and all wards in St. Martin Parish, Creoles of all colors worked side by side. These data are helpful in understanding the ethnic landscape of sugar farmers and laborers in the two parishes. More crucially, it gives clear indication that Creole farmers employed Creole laborers (of all colors), but also that Creole laborers worked together in the gangs that planted, cultivated, harvested and transported the cane. Other farmers and laborers did live in Iberia and St. Martin Parishes, however.[33]

White-identified Americans forcibly introduced African Americans to cane cultivation in the early 19th century and their descendants remained in the region long

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[32] Fairclough, *Race & Democracy*, 15, 383.

[33] Figures do not include cotton, corn and other farmers and laborers, who enumerators distinguished from sugar farmers and laborers. Figures do include day laborers for Loreauville, enumeration district 14. Dubois and Horvath, "Creoles and Cajuns," 193.

after slavery. Thus African Americans clustered in several pockets of Iberia Parish. Police Jury Ward 8 included a collection of nine to ten sugar plantations surrounding Jeanerette. In these plantation communities combined, 307 African American laborers eclipsed 43 blackened Creole laborers. On Enterprise Plantation in Police Jury Ward One, 40 African American laborers worked alongside nine Creole laborers (whitened and blackened) and two whitened Creole farmers. English language dominated Enterprise Plantation, as only two residents of the entire plantation spoke only "French" (more likely to be Creole rather than French).[34] On the Bayard Plantation, also in Police Jury Ward 1, black-racialized American laborers outnumbered Creole laborers as well: 32 (white and black-identified) compared to five Creole laborers. Similarly, at Olivier, non-Creole laborers outnumbered Creole laborers seven to three. Further, in these non-Creole enclaves, segregated settlement patterns dominated, with whitened residents on one side of the district and blackened on the other, especially in the vicinity of Jeanerette.

What these statistics offer is evidence of race-specific black and white American community clusters in the Creole Teche civil parishes whose forefathers dated back to slavery. However, Creoles lived interspersed within these binary racial groups. Creoles tended to occupy a parallel working world in the sense that Creoles and African Americans often manned the labor crews in their own respective communities throughout the sugarcane producing belt. But parallel also to the degree that Creoles and African Americans maintained cultural differences which each of their communities maintained simultaneously. Although these parallel worlds rubbed shoulders literally and

[34] Census takers did not distinguish between Creole and French. Both languages were referred to as French in the census. It is therefore difficult to determine which was spoken at Enterprise. Today, the entire lower half of Iberia Parish–including Patoutville, Nico Town, Olivier, Grand Marais–is heavily Creole-speaking, with families who have been living there since the 1700s.

figuratively, the separate and distinct Creole and American sugar worlds helped to maintain Creole unity. What is certain is that based on census evidence, the cane economy in Iberia and St. Martin Parishes in the early 1900s helped to unify Creoles and non-Creoles in separate working and residential worlds. The nature of cane cultivation is worth discussing, as it gives an even clearer picture of how the industry both forged and reinforced communities.[35]

Cane culture is meticulous, highly regimented and relentless, absorbing cane workers in the rhythms of the cycle of growing and processing sugarcane for months of the year. Part of the reason that cane cultivation remained labor intensive is because cane culture and harvest techniques had not changed significantly from previous centuries. The growing season for the crop was still ten months and much of the routine or cycle persisted. Spring planting occurred from January to March. Between April and June, laborers cultivated the cane by fertilizing the crop and by hoeing to remove grass and weed to prevent choking. Laborers then labored from October to December (called the "rolling season" months), when they cut the cane (planted earlier in earlier seasons) with large-handled cane knives in gangs of brigaded harvesters, and relocated the cut cane to horse-drawn carts. In 1910, these activities still persisted by hand and in organized tight labor units. The success of the processed sugar depended heavily on coordination and centralization. Successfully processed sugar proved also vital in sustaining an old Creole work culture, dating back to the 18th century, for if the processing of cane – the region's most important economy – had not changed much, then the culture of the Creoles who worked the cane likewise remained less susceptible to change. Moreover the cane cycle

[35] Plantations include: Loisel, B. Grove, Bayside, Jones, Right Way, Linden, Palfrey, Delton, and Hope. Jacksontown appears to be a plantation, in that over 95% of its residents were non-Creole blacks who were mostly laborers. See Appendix W for statistics.

required a minimum of ten months of endless work during which Creole work gangs toiled in the fields. Given these dictates and constraints, significant contact with non-Creoles remained relatively limited with the work day structured around gang labor and the unity such work gangs inevitably enjoyed.[36]

Sugar work not only reinforced community ties through kinship, but held essential for the maintenance of Louisiana Creole and French languages. This close contact between Creole laborers remained crucial for the cross-pollination and carriage of Creole language from one generation to the next, whitened Creoles included. At a concert in St. Martinville, scholar Edward Larocque Tinker recalled hearing poor white-identified Creole farmers, "Cajuns," he called them, greet one another with: "*Comment to yé, Narcisse? Mo bien et toi, comment to yé? Ou té sorti? Mo sorti chez moin. Comment to du canne à sucre? Mo du canne à sucre a pé profiter bien* (How're you doing, Narcisse? I'm well and yourself, how are you? Where are you coming from? I've come from home. How's the sugarcane? They're fairing well.)." These classic Creole grammatical constructions point to the visible usage of Creole spoken by whitened Creoles and the centrality of cane to work life in St. Martin Parish in the 19th and early 20th centuries.[37]

By the 1910s, many town-dwelling professional white Creoles continued to speak Creole maternally. Charles Joseph Bienvenu, born in 1906 at St. Martinville, recalled in his masters thesis, "The Negro-French Dialect of Saint Martin Parish," that whitened

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[36] John C. Rodrigue, *Reconstruction in the Cane Fields: From Slavery to Free Labor in Louisiana's Sugar Parishes 1862-1880* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001), 4-5; John B. Rehder, *Delta Sugar: Louisiana's Vanishing Plantation Landscape* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 138-9, 158, 164-5; Thomas Becnel, *Labor, Church, and the Sugar Establishment: Louisiana, 1887-1976* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980), 13.

[37] Edward Tinker provides earlier evidence of white Creoles speaking Creole not long after the Civil War in the context of sugarcane cultivation. See Edward Larocque Tinker, *Les Ecrits de langue française en Louisiane au XIXe siècle* (Paris: H. Champion, 1932), 259.

and blackened Creoles conversed in Creole with one another. "Since many of the Creoles speak the dialect and the Negroes converse freely with them, the Negroes are imitating the dialect as spoken by Creoles." Bienvenu's parents, Charles and Zoé Bienvenu, both from a leading Creole family in St. Martinville, participated in interviews for the masters thesis. Additionally, he contended that Creoles of color learned the Creole language from whitened Creoles. George Lane equally observed that at St. Martinville, Creole persisted as the only language spoken by many whites. He noted that on the streets of St. Martinville: "one hears [...] the Negro-French dialect spoken by white and black alike." Further, he observed that Creole remained the only language in which "the children [of whitened and blackened Creoles] are conversant." Bienvenu and Lane's studies reveal not only the widespread influence of Creole language but that professional whitened Creoles equally spoke Creole maternally. That townspeople spoke Creole was convenient, since it meant that townspeople and country folk spoke the same idiom, bridging urban and rural communities. Townsfolk may not have seen their country brethren as class equals, but the continued use of Creole in homes in town suggests that culturally, town and country Creoles responded to – and engaged – core Creole cultural values. While Creole language permeated popular consciousness in labor settings and in some homes, the French language persisted as an institutional language and lingua franca in local Catholic churches in the years before World War I.[38]

1.4 French Language

[38] Charles Joseph Bienvenu, *The Negro-French Dialect of Saint Martin Parish*, MA thes., Louisiana State University (Aug., 1933), pp. iv-v; George S. Lane, "Notes on Louisiana-French," *Language* 10, no. 4 (Dec., 1934): 323-24. See also Ingrid Neumann, "Le créole des Blancs en Louisiane," *Études Créoles* 6, no. 2 (1984): 63-78; Thomas A. Klingler, *If I Could Turn My Tongue Like That: The Creole of Pointe-Coupée Parish* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2003), xvii, xviii.

French language, like Creole, remained an important element in the shared world of Creoles from the late 19th to the early 20th centuries. After the Civil War, English-speaking Congregational and Catholic missionaries seeking work among Creoles of color in south Louisiana encountered an immediate language barrier. An overwhelming majority of Creoles of color spoke French or Creole. These particular Catholic and Congregational missionary representatives only spoke English. Frustrated, missionaries of the Congregational Missionary Association noted that "to a large number [of colored people in Louisiana] the Creole patois is more natural than English," when their association attempted to convert Creoles of color in Louisiana to Congregationalism through the medium of English. Additionally, after issuing the 1884 decree, which segregated Catholic churches on a binary racial basis, Catholic missionary work among persons of color became particularly important for the American Catholic Church. Evidently, the Washington D.C.-based Commission for Catholic Missions Among the Colored People and Indians (hereinafter, [the] Commission), who financed Catholic missions for people of color throughout the United States, hoped for an easy transition among Creoles of color in south Louisiana, as well. But in 1888, Louisiana Archdiocesan Chancellor Chassé of New Orleans reminded Commission leaders that Creoles of color preferred "churches where French language [wa]s spoken." Moreover, Louisiana Archbishop Joseph Janssens warned the Commission that year that: "Our colored Catholics, Creole colored, as they are called, are in language, manners and ways of thinking quite different from the colored people elsewhere." Thus, Janssens upheld the idea that Creoles in Louisiana differed significantly from speakers of English in the United States, most crucially, due to language and other cultural differences. Archdiocesan support for French language reflected the linguistic reality of Louisiana's

holy see: the Archdiocese of New Orleans in fact represented a collection of majority Francophone and Creolophone communities where French language remained a visibly important institutional language for Creoles.[39]

French remained the language of a majority of Catholic churches in south Louisiana until well after 1900. For instance, Emilie Gagnet Leumas observed that in 1920, priests in all Catholic parishes in Iberia, St. Martin and Lafayette civil parishes, originated in France, Francophone Belgium and occasionally Francophone Canada. Additionally, in some parts of St. Martin, Iberia, Lafayette, and St. Landry Parishes, and in some parts of St. Mary Parish, Francophone priests continued to record ecclesiastic records in French. So, Catholicism continued to provide not only the social structure for Creole communities through various policies and traditions, it also continued to support and reinforce Creole identity by providing those congregations with Francophone clergy. Creoles moreover preferred French-speaking pastors in their Catholic churches, which the archdiocese provided until World War I. [40]

In addition to the various levels of support for French language in the Louisiana Catholic Archdiocese, the Louisiana Catholic Church further affirmed Creole distinctiveness by institutionalizing Creole identity in Francophone ecclesiastic parishes. Where parishioners spoke or understood French, and Francophone clergypersons served the community, pastors upheld Creole identity notably in their Catholic church parish

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[39] American Missionary Association, *The American Missionary, Volumes 59-60* (Charleston, SC: Nabu Press, 2012), 143; Labbé, *Jim Crow Comes to Church*, 18-19; John T. Gillard, *Colored Catholics of the United States* (Baltimore: Josephite Press, 1941), 122.

[40] Leumas, Emilie Gagnet, "Mais, I sin in French, I gotta go to confession in French: A Study of the Language Shift from French to English within the Louisiana Catholic Church" (PhD diss., Louisiana State University, 2009), 27, 32, 51, 112; Sacred Heart Catholic Church (Grand Côteau, Louisiana), "Canonical Visit," 1927; Annemarie Kasteel, *Francis Janssens, 1843-1897: A Dutch-American Prelate* (Lafayette, LA: Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwest Louisiana, 1992); Slawson, "Segregated Catholicism," 150-1.

records. Beginning around 1910, the Archdiocese of New Orleans required each individual Catholic Church parish to return a detailed demographic census to the Archdiocese of New Orleans. In the section entitled "General Questions," the form asked priests to state the "nationality" or "nationalities" of parishioners, specifying numbers in each designation. The frequency of responses leave no doubt on the ethnic breakdown of church parishioners in Creole communities.

Throughout the Teche region, between 1910 and 1930, Francophone priests most frequently responded by writing in "Creole." For example, in 1916, at St. Nicholas Church, French-born Father Catherin declared that "all are Creoles" when describing his parishioners. At St. Martin Church, now called St. Martin de Tours, in St. Martinville, French-born Father V. Trotoux, in 1915, referred to his parishioners as "all Creole people." Trotoux and Catherin did not stand alone in identifying their parishioners as Creoles; the same pattern existed throughout Teche Country and southwest Louisiana more broadly (Table 3). French language, therefore, played a crucial role in both how parishioners self-identified and how Francophone Catholic leaders affirmed that identity. Creole identity is not synonymous to *Francophonité*[41], however; French-speakers in France identify as French, in Belgium as Belgian or Wallon, in French Canada as French Canadians. This indicates that foreign French-speaking priests learned Creole identity from the locals once in south Louisiana, and respected that identity. Francophone clergy affirming Creole identity gestured toward a certain degree of cultural, if not also genealogical, kinship with the French-speaking residents and parishioners.

Indeed a plurality of residents in many rural Creole communities along the Teche spoke French or Creole after 1900. For instance, at Grand Bois in St. Martin Parish,

[41] Francophonité refers to the state of being a French-speaker.

census enumerator L.N. Mélançon, a Creole, calculated that 95% of the inhabitants spoke "French" (most likely Creole) in the 1910 decennial census. Similarly, census marshal Edmond C. Voorhies reported that 90% of Carencro residents spoke "French" in the domicile in the same decennial census (Appendix G). Also, in 1913, Father Catherin, rector of St. Nicholas Catholic Church, serving the Grand Marais and Patoutville communities, noted in his church census that over 75% of Creoles in his ecclesiastic jurisdiction spoke "French" (Appendix H). Therefore, a majority of Creoles in rural communities in Teche Country continued speaking historic and culturally significant heritage languages after 1900. Outside of religious events, homes, and cane fields, Creoles found solace for their native tongue in additional cultural contexts, like music.[42]

Working-class Francophone music of southwest Louisiana, or *la vieille musique française* (old French music), became one way to express a shared milieu for many Creoles in southwest Louisiana. Folklorist Barry Jean Ancelet notes that provincial music, which developed in southwest Louisiana, reflected the diverse ancestral and cultural origins of Creoles, "[It] blend[ed] American Indian, Scotch-Irish, Spanish, German, Anglo-American, and Afro-Caribbean influences with a base of western French folk traditions." Creoles used French language to bring divergent elements together to create the singular music form. Creole linguistic and musical distinctiveness became further evident in the incorporation of Latin descriptors in the old French music of the region.[43]

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[42] The legislature provided for Francophone services in education in the constitution of 1898, reiterated in the 1913 constitution however at the judicial and civil levels, proceedings were only legal in the English language. See "Histoire de la Louisiane américaine," website, http://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amnord/louisiane-2historique.htm (accessed: May 2012).

[43] Barry Jean Ancelet, *Cajun Music: Its Roots and Development* (Lafayette, LA: Center for Louisiana Studies, 1989), 1.

The ennoblement of the physical descriptors nègre, négresse and *blonde* to express longing and desires emerged as one unique feature of *la vieille musique française*. Denotatively, nègre is a dark brown complexioned man (négresse, for woman) in both normative and Louisiana French. However, figuratively, in Louisiana, it signified a term of endearment for whitened and blackened Creoles. In "Mon Dernier Bonsoir," whitened Creole female singer Cléoma Breaux Falcon expressed longing for her nègre to carry her away from the misery engulfing her following his departure (see Image 2). Simultaneously, the brown Creole male fiddler, Amédé Ardoin, sang ballads and waltzes to his beloved *blonde* (see Image 3). In the literal sense, *blonde* refers to a woman with blond hair. Colloquially, in Louisiana, *blonde* meant girlfriend or wife. Additionally, Ardoin's musical partner, the whitened Creole Dennis McGee, expressed melancholy for the absence of his négresse in "Mon cher bébé créole." For Creoles of all hues, nègre, négresse, and blonde operate in popular speech as terms of endearment. Given that Creoles performed the old Francophone folk music of southwest Louisiana in that medium, the descriptors/expressions of affection of everyday speech bled into musical lyrics. Ardoin and McGee, moreover, participated in more than just duo performances in fais-dodos, or house dances. They experienced parallel isolation from mainstream Protestant English-speaking America as working-class, French-speaking Catholics from the same locale in southwest Louisiana. Of course Ardoin's brown skin and latinité represented a double burden in the Jim Crow South. Although lynching declined considerably by the first two decades of the 20th century, southern white-identified men continued to kill or arrest men of color for glancing at, flirting with, whistling or courting a white woman. Yet, the whitened Creole Falcon persisted in singing to her nègre in French in south Louisiana, as did the dark Creole Ardoin to his blonde. To be sure,

lynchings occurred in Louisiana, too. Over 400 persons lost their lives in lynchings and mob violence in Louisiana between 1874 and 1960. But as a 2005 United States congressional resolution makes clear, only 13 lynchings (3%) occurred in St. Martin (three), Lafayette (four), and Iberia Parishes (six) during that period. For Anglophone country music performers, however, lyrics and accompaniment played out differently.[44]

Although most American folk music scholars agree that black and white-racialized people equally contributed to the many music forms emerging in the Anglophone South, and that the various instruments employed by American folk artists originate in both Europe and Africa, and that religion, home, and social issues remained central to early country music, the various sociopolitical pressures of Jim Crow virtually created parallel social lives for rural, working-class, blackened and whitened Anglophones. Thus binary racial norms remained much more visible in the lyricization of Country music in the early 20th century. This held especially true in the music of Samantha Biddix Bumgarner of Sylva, North Carolina, and of Vernon Dalhart (Jefferson, Texas). Bumgarner attended numerous festivals and Dalhart recorded under various record labels. Even though thematic parallels existed between the lyrics of Bumgarner, Dalhart, Ardoin, Breaux and McGee, one significant difference remained. Neither racializers nor descriptors appeared in the long list of songs performed in the 1910s and 1920s of Bumgarner and Dalhart (see Image 4), nor did either perform (at least publicly) with a person perceived of as being of a different race or ethnic group.

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[44] There are numerous examples, however Dennis McGee's "Mon cher bébé créole," comes to mind; *Dictionary of Louisiana French,* "nègre," "négresse," "blonde," "brunette;" *Dictionary of Louisiana Creole*, "nèg," "negrès," "blond;" *A Dictionary of the Cajun Language*, 1st ed., "nègre," "blonde," "brunette." Alan Lomax, "Cajun Country: Lache Pas La Patate (Don't Drop the Potato)," *Public Broadcasting System*, 1991. U.S. Congress, Senate, *Apologizing to Lynching Victims and their Descendants*, *Presented by Ms. [Mary] Landrieu*, *Monday*, *13 June 2005*, S. Res. 39, pp. S6364-6388, 2005, *Congressional Record*, vol. 151, no. 77; Michael Pfeifer, *Rough Justice: Lynching and American Society, 1874-1947* (Champagne-Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 24, 156-84.

This is not to say that white- and black-identified Anglophones did not share cultural spaces; evidently they did and had for a very long time. But it does illustrate degrees of separation in public and cultural life that hardened with the advent of racialized segregation and separation in the South in the 20th century. As the BBC documentary, the "Joy of Country" put it candidly, country music's "niche was the white working-class," not the white and black working-class.[45]

By contrast, old French music of Creole Louisiana very consciously spoke to Creoles of all hues. Music, like religion, work, and language spoke across the community and expressed shared cultural idioms that stood apart from the increasingly segregated world of the Jim Crow South.

American communities

Creoles did not occupy the Teche Country alone, however. American settlers had populated the region from the 1810s bringing with them scores of African American

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[45] Joyner, *Shared Southern Traditions*, 193-227; Bill C. Malone & David Stricklin, *Southern Music/American Music* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2003), 6, 10-13; Lawrence Levine, *Black Culture, Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 194 as found in *supra*, p. 6; Karl Hagstrom Miller, *Segregating Sound: Inventing Folk and Pop Music in the Age of Jim Crow* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 187-240; *Joy of Country*, BBC (London, UK: 23 December 2011). For race relations in the Anglophone South in the early 20th century, see Neil R. McMillen, *Dark Journey: Black Mississippians in the Age of Jim Crow* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1939), 23-7; C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955), 7, 9, 101; Ray Stannard Baker, *Following the Color Line: American Negro Citizenship in the Progressive Era* (Harper, 1964), 14-30; J. Douglas Smith, *Managing White Supremacy: Race, Politics, and Citizenship in Jim Crow Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 3-15, 19-37, 40-43; Jennifer Ritterhouse, *Growing Up Jim Crow: How Black and White Children Learned Race* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 158, 214; Kristina DuRocher, *Raising Racists: the Socialization of White Children in the Jim Crow South* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2011), 61-112; K. Stephen Prince, *Stories of the South: Race and the Reconstruction of Southern Identity, 1865-1915* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 207-39.

slaves. Most – though not all – of these English-speaking settlers, free and unfree, came from Virginia, Kentucky, and the Carolinas. Their cultural imprint would long influence the Teche region, although as noted previously, Anglophones and Creoles lived in parallel universes where of course some daily contact occurred but where both cultures operated in tandem. African Americans and their white-identified American landlords plainly occupied quite distinct worlds but linguistically, if not culturally, a clear Anglo Creole divide remained as Creoles remained resilient to Anglophone assimilation through the early 20th century. Given the numerical majority of Creoles along the Teche, and their clannish nature, to recycle Adam Fairclough's observation, English-speakers and members of various Protestant denominations formed their own communities and created branches of national social institutions throughout the region. Because the English language and numerous evangelical Christian denominations factored prominently in the organization of these non-Creole communities, they generally appealed to Americans and other non-Creoles. Moreover, they constructed many of these institutions in the absence of Catholics and non-Anglophones. Non-Creole communities therefore remained recognizable in the ubiquity of Anglophones, non-Creole surnames, and hardened racialized residential patterns.[46]

[46] For more information on the emergence of non-Catholic Christian communities in Louisiana, see Paul Harvey, *Through the Storm, Through the Night: A History of African American Christianity* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2011), 72-3, 77, 79; Glenn R. Conrad, ed, *New Iberia: Essays on the Town and Its People* (Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies, 1986), 429-53. For the history of African American sororities and fraternities in the US, see Lawrence C. Ross Jr., *The Divine Nine: The History of African American Fraternities and Sororities* (New York: Kensington, 2001), 1-10. Much useful history on the establishment of Baptist and Methodist churches and religious organizations in southwest Louisiana can be found in Leona W. Smith, *St. Landry–Up From Slavery: Then Came Fire* (Bloomington: Author House, 2011). Although secular, most members of national societies and organizations appealed to mainly Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, and other denominations of Protestantism. For the Elks, see J. Herbert Klein, *All About the Order of the Elks* (Los Angeles: International FA Publishing, 2011), 51-84, 117-136.

Three such communities developed at Avery Island, part of downtown New Iberia, and Bulls Tree Farm, all in Iberia Parish. At Avery Island, a former sugarcane plantation turned pepper farm owned by the McIlhenny and Avery families, in 1910, over 70% of households carried non-Creole surnames. Ninety-three percent of all households spoke English, with the remaining persons recently migrating from Sicily. Only one household spoke French, though bilingually to some degree with English. Additionally, white-racialized persons and persons of color (black and mulatto Anglophones) lived in racially segregated areas of the island (Appendix M). Like Avery Island and neighboring Weeks Island, Bulls Tree Farm carried linguistically and culturally the imprint of slavery and the mass importation of African American laborers. At Bulls Tree Farm, a small hamlet outside of Avery Island, 100% of residents spoke English only, carried non-Creole surnames, and the census marshal described all as black (Appendix N). On East Main Street, in a sector of downtown New Iberia, Creoles represented 77% of the street's residents. The census enumerator racialized all of those Creoles as white and reported that all spoke English (Appendix O). The nature of the separate residential arrangements lay somewhere between choice and law. On the one hand, in 1910, neither the Iberia Parish government nor New Iberia-proper passed any civil parish or city ordinances to segregate residences. However on the other hand, Anglophones may have preferred to work for and with people who shared their cultural norms and understandings and thus they cohered in these rural work settings with people of the same culture. As George M. Frederickson observes, segregation in the US amounted to "petty apartheid," a system of racial separation based on social codes rather than legislation. These culturally distinct residential patterns, the English language, and especially the emergent non-Catholic religious presence, reinforced Creoles' disdain and

historically-rooted views towards white- and black-racialized American communities, expressed most outwardly by the local Roman Catholic Church.[47]

Views towards Americans

The local Roman Catholic Church expressed renewed concern over the presence of non-Catholics living among Creoles from the 1890s onward. In southwest Louisiana, evangelical Baptists and Methodists began aggressive proselytizing within Creole communities in the 1890s, and apparently, some Creoles responded favorably, especially dark-skinned Creoles. Archbishop Janssens of New Orleans, Dutch by birth and well acquainted with racial norms in the South, witnessed these changes. "[It was] the poor darkey," Janssens wrote to Katherine Drexel in 1894, "that is led astray from the [Catholic] Church to the Baptist and Methodist shouting houses." As the official head of the Catholic Church in Louisiana, Janssens's characterization of Baptist and Methodist congregations as "shouting houses" for "poor darkies" inevitably impacted views towards Baptist and Methodist congregations proselytizing in southwest Louisiana, as Catholics overwhelmingly remained faithful to the Catholic Church.[48]

English-speaking populations in the United States perceived of people and the world in ways that differed from the French- and Creole-speaking people of south Louisiana. Rodolphe Lucien Desdunes, a New Orleans Creole author and activist, understood these different perceptions and philosophies of life. In 1907, he addressed them in an essay to African American scholar W.E.B. Du Bois, wherein he declared that

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[47] Conrad, *New Iberia*, 13; Frederickson, *White Supremacy*, 247-49.

[48] Slawson, "Segregated Catholicism," 164; Kasteel, *Francis Janssens*, 302-3.

Americans and Creoles "differed radically." The former, he viewed as Anglo-Saxons, and the latter, as Latins. He contended rather sweepingly that Creoles hoped, and African Americans doubted. "One makes efforts to acquire merits," he continued, "while the other seeks to gain advantages." Above all, Creoles "aspire to equality," he noted, while African Americans "seek an identity," the consequence of which "one will forget colors of his skin in order to believe that he is a man, while the other forgets that he is a man in order to think of himself by the pigment of his skin." In his 1911 memoir, Desdunes further developed this idea when he wrote "No, unlike the coarse Anglo-Saxon or uptight Protestant, I do not want to pretend that my Latin blood be tainted when mixed with the blood of Africans." Desdunes exemplified the thought processes, social arrangements, and direction of Anglophone thought Creoles came to know and reject outright.[49]

Southwest Louisiana certainly produced many more Creoles who shared Desdunes's tearing critique of Anglophones (blackened and whitened). Not all Creoles adhered to the broad condemning brushstrokes Desdunes applied. Yet most southwest Louisiana Creoles did retain a healthy distrust for Anglophone institutions, notably certain evangelical Protestant congregations.

Evangelical religious practices and the weak church structure of some churches particularly impacted Creole views towards black-identified American Baptists in Teche communities. In May 1895, congregant P.C. Hues of Union Baptist Church in St. Martinville observed that "everything passed on very quietly" amid the "immense crowd of spectators" during one of his church's baptismal ceremonies in Bayou Teche.

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[49] Rodolphe Lucien Desdunes, *A Few Words to Dr. Du Bois, With Malace Toward None* (New Orleans: s.n., 1907), 10, A. P. Tureau Papers, Amistad Research Center (ARC), Tulane University, roll 57, series X, box 77; ibid., *Nos hommes et notre histoire* (Montreal: s.n., 1911), 9.

However, he lamented that some spectators, "who had not yet been Christianized," found the "biblical ordinance" to be a source for ridicule and laughter. A year later, also in St. Martinville, Union Baptist Church members forced its pastor, J.C. Rochelle, to resign. The Mississippi-born "pulpit giant," John Berry Livingston, head of the Union Sixth District Baptist Missionary Association, assigned J.L. Davis to Union Baptist's vacant pastorship. Congregants complained of Rochelle's leadership, in particular his dictatorial character, as well as continued financial setbacks in the church's affairs. That the district missionary association named a new pastor suggests that although Union's charter placed its members in full control of the church's affairs, local Union members lacked the ability to locate a replacement pastor and the regional association acted on the church's behalf. Facing local opposition and hanging support, the district association (a state convention of black-identified Baptists) stepped in to shore up the malaise and appoint another minister. If Catholics ridiculed and laughed at Baptist baptisms in the bayou and the misfortunes of J.C. Rochelle, then it is probable that St. Martinville Catholics viewed Protestant practices as unusual and its members as cultural outsiders. New Baptist communities on the Teche struggled with more than just overbearing pastors and lack of leadership.[50]

Some new congregations had no permanent place of worship, and others struggled so desperately for revenue that some pastors threatened to expel churchgoers for neglecting tithing responsibilities. At Lafayette, in May 1903, E.H. Robinson, an African American Baptist minister, delivered the gospel twice each Sunday to his flock at a masonic hall in the city. In St. Martinville, black-racialized Baptists particularly struggled financially. At the First Home Mission Baptist Church, church income

[50] *Weekly Messenger*, 18 May 1895; ibid., 10 October 1896.

deteriorated such that in 1912, A.C. Williams, pastor of the congregation, threatened to excommunicate all members with church debt (failure to honor tithing duties). Black Baptist churches experienced numerous structural setbacks. On the one hand, economically impoverished black-identified laborers and farmers incorporated the new churches, and frequented them. They also relied on the profitability of the sugarcane industry for regular income. Jim Crow culture also discouraged and impeded upward mobility of blacks. Structurally, these monoracial black-racialized Baptist congregations often lacked financial outlets to build permanent churches and weather the storm when its members earned less. The socioeconomic troubles of these particular Baptist congregations inevitably contributed to retention of Creoles in Catholic churches and fostered negative views towards failing evangelical Protestants and Anglophones.[51]

A particularly negative attitude towards *l'américain*, or the English language, surfaced among many south Louisiana Creoles in the 20th century. In "Ma Tante Louise," the editor of the 1910 issue of *Athénée Louisianais* described an experience in which a bilingual French-English Creole living in uptown New Orleans visited an imaginary monolingual Francophone cousin downtown. "She would bring her 'boys' to the house. And aunt Louise had to pretend to be the affable auntie in English, which she hated," noted the author. The uptown cousin lived among Anglophones and spoke to her children exclusively in English. When visiting Louise, she had to speak English and pretend that all was well, even though she found speaking in English repulsive and harbored a viscerally critical attitude towards her bilingual cousin for abandoning her

[51] *Lafayette Advertiser*, 4 May 1903; *Weekly Messenger*, 11 May 1914, p. 4. See appendix T for board of trustees and founding members of Union Baptist Church and Bethlehem Baptist Church #1.

Creole culture. "Tante Louise" characterized a troublesome reality: Creoles felt invaded by English language and Anglophone social norms.[52]

Many Creoles, like tante Louise, retreated in reaction to Anglophone permeation in Creole south Louisiana. Edward Larocque Tinker observed this phenomenon in early 20th century Creole-American relations where he noted, "relentless waves of Americans washed across Louisiana shores." And, "Creoles began to feel like foreigners in their own country, an impression which encouraged clannish behavior" with respect to Anglophones. Americans observed the same rift in New Iberia during this same period. The town's American newspaper editor observed "prejudices" and "ill-feeling" between Americans and Creoles in New Iberia, which he attributed mostly to "the use in familiar intercourse of different languages." The editor characterized American and Creole relations as a "slugging match" which served the political divide between Americans and Creoles well. "The Americans and Creoles [...] have been sufficiently estranged," he noted in one 1885 edition. While Creoles sought refuge from Americanization, Americans established social institutions in and around Creole communities in south Louisiana.[53]

American national secular orders grew exponentially in southwest Louisiana after 1900. Grand Patrons of the women's auxiliary of the Masons – the Eastern Star – established chapters (for white-racialized only) in Abbeville (Vermilion Parish), Lafayette, and Opelousas in February 1901, August 1907 and December 1907, respectively. The Knights of Pythias, a secret order for white-racialized men, opened

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[52] "Ma tante Louise," *Comptes Rendus de l'Athénée Louisianais* (New Orleans: Imprimerie Franco-Américaine, 1910), 150-159.

[53] Tinker, *Les Ecrits*, 4-5; "A Proposed Exhibition of Human Ferocity," *New Iberia Enterprise*, 26 Aug 1885, p. 2.

lodges in Lafayette, St. Martinville, Abbeville, and Opelousas in the last decade of the 20th century. But as the *Lafayette Gazette* noted in January 1902 during the installation of officers, "The Lafayette lodge of Knights of Pythias is in a most prosperous condition. Its membership is large and continuously increasing." At Opelousas, the Knights of Pythias, Woodmen of the World, and Red Men, again, white-only associations, moved into – and shared – the third floor of the Christman Building in 1908. These lodges excluded black-racialized citizens and unlike the black-identified evangelical churches, enjoyed financial success. Successful parallel lodges for black-identified men and women did exist however, such as the Eastern Star, the Masons, Odd Fellows, Woodsmen of the World and Knights of Pythias. In 1911, the white-racialized grand chancellor of South Carolina Pythians protested the charter of a black-membered lodge in Louisiana. The black-identified knights resolved the issue by naming the organization the "Knights of Hannibal." Black-racialized Pythians did organize in Louisiana as the Knights of Pythias, however. In 1909, the organization erected a "handsome building" in downtown New Orleans. These separate white and black-racialized organizations gave English-speaking citizens the possibility to unite under shared religious and cultural values (albeit racially segregated ones). Although New Orleans inevitably emerged as the hotbed of associational activity, even in rural southwest Louisiana the fraternal and sorority orders made singular progress.[54]

[54] More information on the founding of southwest Louisiana ES lodges can be found in: *Lafayette Advertiser*, 14 August 1907, p. 10 (See all members in Appendix U); *St Landry Clarion*, 7 December 1907, p. 1 (For the Opelousas roster, see Appendix V); *The Meridional*, 16 February 1901, p. 3 – Lizzie Chapter #11. For the white Knights of Pythias lodges, see *Lafayette Advertiser*, 18 January 1902, p. 1; *Weekly Messenger*, 22 December 1900; *The Meridional*, 23 October 1893, p 3; *Opelousas Courier*, 24 October 1908, p 1. For information on black lodges of the Eastern Star (ES), see "The Order of the Eastern Star Begins," *African American Registry*, website, http://www.aaregistry.org/historic_events/view/order-eastern-star-begins

Indeed, the local Catholic Church kept a watchful eye on the community changes around them, and protested. In 1892, the Catholic Church decreed all Catholic freemasons excommunicated from the Church. In a letter dated 1 January 1895, Archbishop Francis Janssens of New Orleans wrote to the pastor of St. Mary Magdalen Church in Abbeville that the decree specifically condemned the Odd Fellows, Sons of Temperance and Knights of Pythias. *Le Méridional,* Abbeville's weekly paper, subsequently printed the letter. The *Burlington Democrat Journal* reported the ban lifted in January 1899. However, in south Louisiana, the Catholic hierarchy continued to shun the masons and other secret societies. Creoles who nonetheless joined these orders faced bruising condemnation within their communities. When Pierre Gagné died at St. Martinville in 1904, Laizaire Bienvenu noted "he was a mason. His remains were not taken to the church. [Instead], he was buried by the Masons." In efforts to impede the growth of evangelical denominations, limit non-Catholic institutions in the area, defend local Catholic values, and to sustain Creole distinctiveness further, the Church forbade membership in such organizations and created its own social organizations and institutions to prevent Creoles from fraternizing with the evangelical Christians permeating Creole communities.[55]

(accessed: 10 December 2013); and the *San Francisco Call*, 15 October 1908, p. 4. On the Knights of Hannibal, see *The Times and Democrat* (Orangeburg, SC), 4 April 1911, p. 1. Louisiana black Pythians, *Opelousas Courier*, 28 August 1908, p. 3.

[55] *Weekly Messenger,* 7 January 1899, p. 1; ibid., 1 October 1904; *Le Méridional*, 12 January 1895, p. 2.

Seeds For A Catholic Social Life

In reaction to these non-Catholic community organizations, the local hierarchy laid the foundation for a Catholic social order. It was in this context that Catholic sodalities or organizations gained prominence in south Louisiana. Sodalities came in many forms. At the national level, the Knights of Columbus (KOC) and Knights of Peter Claver (KPC) emerged to offer Catholic men alternatives to national societies barred by the Catholic Church. Catholic leaders also stressed participation in the KOC and KPC in efforts to link isolated Catholic communities and forge a national Catholic identity. Some sodalities offered practical lay support. The *Bonne Morte* Society maintained Catholic church parish cemeteries. The St. Joseph Society offered prayers for bereaved families. The *Propagation de la foi*, which became especially popular after 1910, helped Catholic evangelizers in the community to reinforce Catholic identity, values, and practices. Sodalities therefore served various roles in the community, including care for the poor, community development, fellowship, and reinforcement of Catholic identity and principles. But sodalities delved further still into their communities.[56]

The Catholic Creole community promoted development and interconnectedness through entertainment venues and fundraising as one way to strengthen Creole and Catholic identity and communities. The KOC and other sodalities, for instance, hosted a bazaar in St. Martinville in February 1910 for the benefit of the church. At Lafayette in

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[56] "1882-1899: The Founding," *Knights of Columbus*, website, http://www.kofc.org/un/en/about/history/ (accessed: 10 December 2013). The Knights of Peter Claver was founded in 1909 as a lay Catholic organization separate from the white-only Knights of Columbus with the same mission. See its website for more information http://www.kofpc.org/; Archives of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Lafayette; Lafayette, Louisiana, parish folders. Rev. William Joseph Teurlings (Lafayette, Louisiana) to Mother Elizabeth (New Orleans, Louisiana), letter, 3 August 1911, Ministries box 1, ACDL; "Ten Days' Mission at St. John Cathedral," *The Daily Advertiser*, 18 March 1918, p. 1; For a more in depth list of sodalities in the four-parish region, see table four.

1911, the KOC and Holy Name Society raised $200 in a baseball game for the building of a new church. In 1916, the True Friends Society put on a bazaar at their hall in St. Martinville to assist the Household of Ruth, another sodality. Although localistic, sodalities connected Creole communities, as well. In April 1910, the St. Martinville KOC travelled to Lafayette to participate in an installation of new knights. In May 1914, the New Iberia KOC received KOC members from St. Martinville and elsewhere for a convention. The local Catholic Church and fraternal orders, like the KPC and KOC, held interconnectedness and community development as key objectives to encourage Catholic unity and to counter the kind of associational growth that had led Pierre Gagné to join a secular Anglophone order. Sodalities bridged Creole communities while simultaneously strengthening individual Creole spaces. With the recrimination of Catholic life through sodalities and social orders, individual churches inevitably expanded their roles in day-to-day Catholic life.[57]

But such community strengthening brought more Catholics to the Church, and their numbers soon became too large for the old churches. St. Martin Church served 4,500 Catholics in 1910. Similarly, between 1910 and 1912, parishioners of St. Peter Church in New Iberia totaled 4,000, and St. Landry Church's population in Opelousas peaked at 7,525 members. To accommodate the many parishioners in overpopulated churches, individual churches offered masses during the week, on Saturdays and more than one mass on Sundays. In April 1913, for instance, St. Landry Church proposed two masses on Sunday mornings: low mass (English sermon) at 7AM, and high mass (French sermon) at 9:30AM. St. Martin Church offered masses Sunday through

[57] *Weekly Messenger*, 26 February 1910, p. 2; ibid., 16 April 1910, p. 3; ibid., 16 May 1914, p. 1; ibid., 7 October 1916, p. 3; *Lafayette Advertiser*, 19 September 1911, p. 1.

Saturday between 1910 and 1915. Multiple masses throughout the week and weekends had the effect of accommodating the large Catholic laity in churches and importantly provided separate services for Anglophone and Creole parishioners. Although the leakage of darker-skinned Creoles to Baptist and Methodist churches subsequently alarmed Archbishop Janssens, St. Martinville, Opelousas and New Iberia Catholic churches retained an overwhelming majority of its darker-skinned parishioners. The Catholic Church would seek to reinforce Catholic Creole values still further by other measures.[58]

Catholic Endogamous Practices

The Catholic Church further promoted Creole exclusivity through decrees forbidding mixed-denominational marriages, except under certain conditions. In 1908, Pope Pius X issued a decree at Easter that obliged Protestants who wished to marry a Catholic to sign a pre-nuptial promise to rear their legitimate children in the Catholic faith. The decree further stipulated that offspring should be educated in parochial schools and that if the couple rejected the Catholic decree and married before a Protestant clergyman, the Catholic spouse would be ex-communicated from the Catholic Church. Four years later, Pius X repealed the decree, but only in relieving the non-Catholic party of the promissory note (to rear offspring in the Catholic faith) it previously required. This official Vatican-level decree and policy severely restricted marriages across the ethnic and denominational line between Creoles and non-Creoles. On the one hand, it

[58] St. Martin Catholic Church, "parish reports" and "annual reports," 1910-1912; St. Peter Catholic Church, "parish report of 1914;" St. Landry Catholic Church, "parish report," 1911-1913. Catholics of color accounted for 50% of the parochial populations in St. Martinville and New Iberia, and roughly 55-60% in Opelousas between 1910 and 1915 without any significant decreases. *St. Landry Clarion*, 12 April 1913, p. 2; *Weekly Messenger*, 2 April 1910, p. 3; ibid., 20 March 1915, p. 3.

reinforced Creole identity, community, and prevented attrition and apostasy from the Catholic Church. On the other hand, it stigmatized any non-Catholic (overwhelmingly Creoles) who crossed the culture line and existed outside of the community. Pope Pius X nonetheless provided avenues for Catholicization of Protestants through marriages in his 1912 repeal on the ban, but the ban did not have an immediate effect on Creole exogamous marriages.[59]

In fact, Catholic marital endogamy remained common practice into the 20th century, especially in south Louisiana. For instance, between 1910 and 1918, Sacred Heart of Jesus at Grand Côteau only performed 13 mixed denominational marriages (out of the 336 Catholic marriages). The same is true at St. Martin Church during those same years, which only solemnized two mixed religious marriages out of a total of 202 Catholic marriages. Similarly, St. Peter New Iberia, in 1914, married three inter-denominational couples out of 44 Catholic marriages. New Iberia, Opelousas, and Grand Côteau saw slightly more mixed denominational marriages than any location in St. Martin parish, as the three towns long had a large and growing non-Catholic communities in those towns. Catholic endogamy persisted, however. For south Louisiana, these customs and traditions of the Catholic Church reinforced the divide between Creole and non-Creole communities. Crucially, it helped maintain Creole identity and Creole culture thus persisted in southwest Louisiana through the early decades of the 20th century. Spurred by new Catholic organizations, Creoles cohered behind a singularly coherent set of cultural values that privileged faith and kin, rather than race and nation. Although culturally distinct, Louisiana Creoles lived in a world shaped by national and state legislation. International markets, furthermore, impacted Louisiana Creoles, like all sugar

[59] *St. Landry Clarion*, 3 August 1912, p. 7.

growers and cane workers. Indeed, the cane world soon began to unravel as modernization swept and transformed the exclusive shared world of Creoles along the Teche during and after World War I.[60]

[60] Sacred Heart of Jesus Catholic Church (Grand Côteau, Louisiana), "parish Reports;" St. Martin Catholic Church (St. Martinville, Louisiana), "parish Reports;" St. Peter Catholic Church (New Iberia, Louisiana), "parish Report of 1914;" "United States Census of Religious Bodies, County File, 1916;" *Weekly Messenger*, 18 September 1909, p. 3.

Chapter Two: From A Creole Society to a Society with Creoles, 1910-1926

"Hotels and restaurants have never
done the business that they are now doing."
– Melvin W. Fisher, editor *New Iberia Enterprise*

"[1920 will] always be remembered
as the blackest in Louisiana sugar history."
– John A. Pharr, cane farm manager

Introduction

In *The Uprooted*, early American immigration historian Oscar Handlin studied the in-migration of European peasants from fixed social worlds to a socially dynamic and fluid America. These impoverished immigrants in early 20th century America, Handlin argued, faced considerable socioeconomic hardships and their resetlement he found tragic. For Handling, they experienced extraordinary confusion in America's fluid and dynamic socioeconomic web. These European peasants, Handlin observed, disliked change, but an economic and demographic revolution in Europe uprooted them. They found themselves in a new social order and desperation in American inner-cities where their traditional peasant cultures found little support, leaving them resentful, disoriented and marginalized.[61]

Since the 1970s and 1980s, immigration historians have abandoned and largely discredited Handlin's perspective. Scholars like John Bodnar in *The Transplanted*, have stressed the assimilative and adaptive nature of the immigrant experience in America. Bodnar identifies the second generation onward as having a foot in both cultural doors:

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[61] Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations that Made the American People* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1951).

they adapted their parents' culture to exist alongside their native-born American one. In so doing, Bodnar moves away from immigration as a clash of cultures and focuses on the "common experience of confronting capitalism" and the transplantation of culture. As Bodnar observes, immigrants used a complex web of kinship and communal association to find jobs and homes in their new homes in America, enhancing genealogical ties transplanted from their homelands. [62]

An entire range of immigration scholars, like June Granatir Alexander and James Barrett, came to similar conclusions as Bodnar: the second generation of immigrants sought to assimilate and conform. Above all, Theodore Roosevelt's "melting pot America," nationalism, and nativism played crucial roles in promoting the assimilation of immigrants in modern American culture. To be sure, as John Higham points out in *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925*, federal and state governments imposed English language onto non-Anglophones beginning in the late 1910s and early 1920s.[63]

Although indigenous to the land, non-Anglophone American citizens, like Louisiana's Creoles, experienced the same pressures and processes to conform to modern American culture as immigrants from other countries. Some resisted change while others welcomed it. And similar to their international counterparts, Louisiana Creoles used kinship and communal association networks to find new jobs in the new economies that

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[62] John Bodnar, *The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), xx, xvii.

[63] June Granatir Alexander, *Ethnic Pride, American Patriotism: Slovaks and Other New Immigrants in the Interwar Era* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004); James R. Barrett, *The Irish Way: Becoming American in the Multiethnic City* (London: Penguin Books, 2012). Bodnar, *The Transplanted*; Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Cenutry* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993); Jeffrey E. Mirel, *Patriotic Pluralism: Americanization Education and European Immigrants* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010). John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2002), 259.

came to southwest Louisiana in the early 20th century which imposed racial segregation onto southwest Louisiana's multicolored population. They adapted to the modern American national culture, while simultaneously maintaining strong aspects of their traditional culture. These immigration studies help interrogate the effects of modernization and Americanization (the acquisition of American values and culture) in southwest Louisiana's Creole communities during the interwar period.

The racial bifurcation of southwest Louisiana commenced with the collapse of the sugar cane plantation complex, the expansion of Anglophone migration into the region, and the invention of Acadian identity and Acadian-based tourism to both appease Americans and economically profit from American consumption of Acadianism. Some Americanized Creoles, like Léonce Sandoz of Opelousas discussed in chapter one, espoused modernization, which facilitated the promotion of new industries and indirectly transmuted cultural traditions and labor patterns dating back to the late 18th century. The cultural transformation engendered by climate shifts and new English language marketing and commerce in southwest Louisiana altered the social and cultural demography of the region and served to disrupt the stasis and continuity of rural Creole life in southwest Louisiana. As a result of these changes, by 1926, the old unified Creole society of the pre-World War I years, became a society with Creoles. In this transformation, Creoles moved from being the primary cultural force (notably in the hearth) to being players in a broader process of economic and social modernization.

2.1. **The collapse of the plantation complex**

Chapter one demonstrated the centrality of gang and manual labor in sugar cane cultivation at the beginning of the 20th century, and illustrated the degree to which the intimacy of mass teamwork helped sustain vibrant communities and underpinned cross-Creole alliances in southwest Louisiana. In the 1890s, however, the transition away from the plantation complex began. Tenancy rose and the industry began to modernize. To remain competitive with global sugar producers, large planters either cohered into central factories or abandoned sugar manufacturing and leased land for small tenancy. These transitions gravely weakened the unity of cane sugar communities. But, in the 1910s and 1920s, modernization accelerated once farmers introduced labor-saving technology which made mass gang labor redundant. The introduction of duty-free cane sugar from other nations, and the rise of beet sugar production in the northern US and in Europe, ensured sugar prices dropped, and the free-trade thrust of US trade policy exacerbated conditions for Creole cane farmers as they watched the protectionism they long coveted, dissolve. Cane growers gained a temporary respite in World War I, largely because European beat sugar production collapsed, and Louisiana's sugar industry recovered; but, only for a short while. The industry plunged during the 1920s, and by 1925, the Louisiana sugar industry practically reached its end. Many of the last remaining planters sold out, tenant farmers could not earn enough to remain in business, and the number of central refineries declined. Mechanized technologies largely replaced gang labor and manual work, plantations closed, and the basis of the old, established plantation work

patterns ended. The combination of these processes diminished the gang-based Creole cohesiveness in the cane cultivating zones of southwest Louisiana.[64]

Two disastrous crop seasons of the 1910s signaled a long period of decline in the Louisiana sugar cane industry. A heavy frost blanketed crops in Iberia, St. Martin and Lafayette parishes in October and December 1911. Cane growers initially regarded the event as unlikely to disrupt crop production yields and believed that the cane remained in satisfactory condition. They soon learned the extent of damage resulting from the freeze, which decimated all tender vegetation and left the cane "pretty severely touched." Frost ravaged arpents of cane along the Teche, and town leaders urged farmers to take necessary steps to curtail further loss. The heavy frosts and freezing had caused the stalks of the cane to sour, preventing any usage for sugar extraction and production. Destruction of the 1911 crop temporarily devalued the property where farmers planted the crop. The severity of conditions could only be described as "unprecedented." Although the December frost destroyed large portions of sugarcane planted in 1911, planters and town leaders hoped the worthless crop and weather would be short-lived. In

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[64] Becnel, *Labor, Church, and the Sugar Establishment*, 13; J. Carlyle Sitterson, *Sugar Country: The Cane Sugar Industry in the South, 1753-1950* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1953), 347. For duty-free imported sugars before World War I, but after the Civil War, see John E. Dalton, *Sugar: A Case Study of Government Control* (New York: Macmillan, 1937), 19-39; Lippert S. Ellis, *The Tariff on Sugar* (Freeport, IL: Rawleigh Foundation, 1933), 23-72; William C. Stubbs, Undated Address (Typescript in Stubbs Papers, Folder 124, Box 37, College of William and Mary); Donelson Caffery to daughter, 10 January 1904, in Donelson Caffery and Family Papers, Folder 10, Series 2, SHC; Caffery to daughter, 2 September 1906, in Caffery Papers, Folder 11, Series 2, SHC, as found in John Alfred Heitmann, *The Modernization of the Louisiana Sugar Industry, 1830-1910* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987), 248-51; Donald W. Millet, "Some Aspects of Agricultural Retardation in Southwest Louisiana," *Louisiana History* 11 (1970): 53-4, as found in Glenn R. Conrad and Ray F. Lucas, *White Gold: A Brief History of the Louisiana Sugar Industry, 1795-1995* (Lafayette: University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1995), 58-9. Tenancy rose, but not nearly to levels found in other agricultural contexts in Louisiana. And in the hearth zone, in some communities, white tenants outnumbered black and mulatto tenants (see Table 4).

fact, the failed growing season of 1911 accelerated the downward shift of the cane industry of southwest Louisiana in the pre-World War I years.[65]

The following year, in 1912, an overflowing Mississippi River submerged all land west of the Atchafalaya Basin, delivering a hammer blow to the already weakened cane economy after two years of low production. Two breaks on the Atchafalaya levée occurred on 13 April. Locals along the Teche understood the severity of the high water. By 27 April, the federal government had already begun sending relief trains to affected areas. Some wealthy cane farmers, like J.B. Levert, proprietor of St. John Plantation and Refinery at St. Martinville, erected temporary flood barriers around the planted cane, in order to protect the crop from the torrents flooding the east bank of the Teche. Such efforts were in vain. By mid-June, water from the Atchafalaya River and Basin inundated the east bank of Bayou Teche. Laizaire Bienvenu, publisher of the *St. Martin Weekly Messenger*, concluded that the 1912 flooding entirely ruined all "standard money crops." Additionally, he hypothesized that "[s]ome of the sugar cane may survive ... but much of it will be destroyed." After the annual sugar grinding season came to a halt in December, the *Louisiana Planter* announced that: "the present crop is the shortest in years" and speculated that annual yields would not exceed 100,000 tons. These consecutive natural disasters in 1911 and 1912 profoundly impacted the cane industry and those relying on its resources. The 1912 crop reduction alone cost Louisiana planters $25 million dollars

[65] John Pharr Jr., Diary, 1911, 1912; *Louisiana Planter and Sugar Manufacturer,* 50 (1913), 235-46; W. F. McDonald, *A Study of Weather Influences in Sugar Cane Production in Louisiana* (New Orleans, 1926), 37, in J. Carlyle Sitterson, *Sugar Country: The Cane Sugar Industry of the South, 1753-1950* (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 1953), 343-44; *St. Martin Weekly Messenger*, 28 Oct 1911, p. 3; ibid., 18 November 1911; ibid., 16 December 1911; *St. Landry Clarion*, 17 February 1912, p. 5; *Lafayette Advertiser*, 31 October 1911, p. 2; *New Iberia Enterprise and Independent Observer*, 4 November 1911, p. 3.

in financial loss. Financial concerns for already cash-starved farmers only worsened in the aftermath of the flood.[66]

The decrease in tonnage of cane produced after the freeze of 1911, and again after the flood of 1912, adversely affected profit margins for farmers. In many cases, raw sugar refiners produced much of the cane they eventually manufactured or processed. When crop yields decreased, production costs remained the same, or increased. Production increases rested in part on modern cultivation methods, the hiring of chemists and botanists, and more mechanical tools. As J. Carlyle Sitterson noted, "where the crop of 1911 cost an estimated $3.42 per ton of cane, the crop of 1912 cost $5.74 per ton." Botanists deployed new cane varieties to protect Louisiana cane from disease. There was, however, little one could do about flood damage. Manufacturers of mechanized implements claimed that the new machinery would be cost-saving measures for farmers, too. Just when mother nature loosened its grip on the cane industry, additional worries to sugar manufacturers came legislatively.[67]

In 1913, the federal government passed a law permitting higher quality (and cheaper) cane sugar from the Philippines to enter U.S. markets duty-free. US producers had long struggled to remain competitive in world markets and had struggled with duty-free competition as early as the 1870s. In 1913, this created a competitor (the Philippines) against whom Louisiana planters could not compete. Louisiana cane farmers

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[66] John Pharr Jr., Diary, 1911, 1912; *Louisiana Planter* 50 (1913), 235-46; W. F. McDonald, *A Study of Weather Influences in Sugar Cane Production in Louisiana* (New Orleans, 1926), 37, as found in Sitterson, *Sugar Country*, 343-44; *Clarion*, 13 April 1912; *Lafayette Advertiser*, 23 April 1912, p. 3; *Clarion*, 27 April 1912, p. 3; *Weekly Messenger*, 11 May 1912, p. 2; *Advertiser*, 3 December 1912.

[67] *Weekly Messenger*, 22 December 1917; *Louisiana Planter* 58-83 (1917-1929); United States Department of Agriculture, *Agricultural Yearbook, 1921*, p 657; ibid., *Agricultural Yearbook, 1924* (Washington, D.C., 1925), 801; I. H. Kempner Jr., to J. Carlyle Sitterson, 14 October 1952, in Sitterson, *Sugar Country*, p. 344.

reacted in horror. "To overthrow the chief industry of a State with a population of nearly a million and a half of people and an industry in which directly or indirectly more than a hundred millions [*sic*] of dollars are invested and in which half a million of our people are concerned," the *Planter* reasoned, "is one of the most violent intrusions of the general government that has ever occurred in this country." Moreover, as far as the *Planter* saw it, "[e]ven a murderer who is about to be hanged is generally asked if he desires to say anything to the people." Louisiana growers felt that any competition, especially duty-free imports, would be fatal for the Louisiana industry. The recent environmental events led Louisiana growers to this conclusion, with profitable years a relatively distant memory. An influx of cheap foreign cane would surely subsume Louisianians' already fragile sugar economy. World War I, however, placed the Filipino-Louisiana sugar issue on hold. [68]

Southwest Louisiana agri-business flourished during – and immediately following – World War I as a result of the decline of European-based beet sugar producers. With France, Germany, Austria and Russia (four of Europe's primary beet producers) embroiled in war, Louisiana producers prospered. Indeed, the war provided financial relief for some sugarcane farmers and laborers from neutral nations like the US until 1917. In 1916, Louisiana growers produced 300,000 tons of sugar, a 200,000 ton increase from the period between 1911 and 1915. Although the price of sugar in 1916 remained relatively low, at 53 cents per pound, demand was high enough for both producers and laborers to benefit. In 1916, cane harvest laborers earned $1.25 per day, and cultivation laborers earned 80 cents per day. By 1918, producers offered a further 45 cents for cultivators, from 80 cents to $1.25, while salaries for harvesters rose from $1.25 to $2.25.

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[68] *Louisiana Planter*, 50 (1913), 295, 342-43, 357; ibid., 51 (1913), 185, 298, in Sitterson, *Sugar Country*, 348; Conrad and Lucas, *White Gold,* 63. See endnote 1 for more information on postbellum duty-free imports.

The war temporarily rejuvenated the struggling cane economy but cane wage increases were not attractive enough for many sugar workers – Creoles included – to remain on the land. As the *New Iberia Enterprise* observed, "The situation today makes it a hardship for a planter to keep his help contented, no matter at what compensation." The result triggered two shifts in traditional Teche Country demographics.[69]

First, nearly 3,000 blackened Creoles abandoned southwest Louisiana at a constant pace after the natural disasters of 1911 and 1912. Some 2,000 land-owning, skilled cane farming Creoles of color left the New Iberia area alone between 1911 and 1920. Some of these families included the Bouttés, Oliviers, Frilots, Fuseliers, Vincents and Latiolais, families with long histories in the sugar cane industry of Iberia Parish. Similarly, St. Martin Parish saw an out-migration of approximately 1,000 Creoles of color, most of whom worked as artisans, teachers, manufacturers and other skilled town-dwellers whose profit margins depended on the success of the cane industry. Families like the Condleys, Martinets, Rochons, Détièges, and Bakers also migrated to California. Whereas in 1910, 105 members of the latter five families resided in St. Martin Parish, only 23 remained in 1920. In October 1919, the manufacturer, Louis Ludovic Martinet, liquidated his assets at Breaux Bridge to follow his entire family and close friends to Los Angeles, California, to work in blue and white collar jobs. California's mulatto population of Louisiana descent increased 140% between 1910 and 1920 as a result of these out-migrations. But, white-identified landowning cane farmers managed to buffer

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[69] *Louisiana Planter*, 57 (1916), 425; ibid., 59-71 (1917-1923); United States Department of Agriculture, *Agricultural Yearbook, 1923* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1924), 172-74; Quote and price of cane from Conrad and Lucas, *White Gold*, 64; Sitterson, *Sugar Country*, 303, 343; *Weekly Messenger*, 16 January 1917; Melissa Walker, *Southern Farmers and Their Stories: Memory and Meaning in Oral History* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2006), 357. For the difficulty in retaining sugar cane laborers, see "Reprehensible Practice," *New Iberia Enterprise and Independent Observer*, 11 October 1919, p. 4.

themselves against the loss of so many Creole farm hands, with the influx of English-speaking, migrant, seasonal cane workers. Such was the case for Louis Comeaux's family, who planted sugarcane and hired men of color from Shreveport during harvest season in the 1920s and 1930s.[70]

Most particularly, regional landlords relied on African American labor to staff the sugar fields. They recruited Anglophone black workers from other parishes and neighboring states, often on an annual or a seasonal basis. The Anglophone black population increased, bringing with them hands for labor and new Anglophone American culture in Creole cane farming communities. St. Martin and Lafayette Parishes gained roughly 3,000 black-racialized residents by 1920 alone. Iberia Parish followed with an increase of 4,000 black-identified residents. According to the 1920 census, an overwhelming majority of these migrant laborers spoke English and carried Anglophone surnames. Their arrival occasioned the establishment of additional evangelical Baptist and Methodist congregations in Lafayette and Iberia Parishes, which

[70] All figures are based on comparison of population totals in the 1910 and 1920 *United States Census* for Louisiana and California, St. Martin and Iberia Parishes, as well as Los Angeles and San Francisco Counties. For trades of the families mentioned, see 1920 *United States Census* for Los Angeles County. In 1910 in St. Martin Parish, there were 29 Rochons, 28 Détièges, 28 Martinets, 11 Condleys, 5 Bakers and 4 de Pennes. In 1920, there were 7 Rochons, 4 Détièges, 10 Martinets, 2 Condleys, 0 Bakers and 0 de Pennes. 1920 *United States Census*, California, Los Angeles, Alameda and San Francisco counties. *Weekly Messenger*, 14 October 1916. The Louisiana Creole diaspora is discussed, in whole, or in part, in: John McCusker, *Creole Trumbone: Kid Ory and the Early Years of Jazz* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2012); Dustin K. Ancalade, "Then there was us: Passing and Identity Formation In Two Rural Southern Louisiana Families," (MA thes., University of California Los Angeles, 2010); Gary Hartman, *The History of Texas Music* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2008); Andrew Jolivette, *Louisiana Creoles: Cultural Recovery and Mixed-Race Native American Identity* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2007); Jolivette, "Creole Diaspora: (Re)articulating the Social, Legal, Economic, and Regional Construction of American Indian Identity." PhD diss., University of California, 2003; Barry Jean Ancelet, *Cajun and Creole Music Makers: Musiciens cadiens et créoles* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1999); Michael Tisserand, *The Kingdom of Zydeco* (New York: Arcade Publishing, 1998); Louis Comeaux, interview by Adrienne LaCour, 27 January 1993, Louisiana and Lower Mississippi Valley Collections, LSU Libraries, Baton Rouge, LA.

will be discussed in the following chapter. Due to their presence, English language also began to have more visible and audible importance. [71]

Despite the introduction of new laborers to the region, there still existed challenges for the cane industry. Mechanized farm tools offset labor shortage, on the one hand, and decreased manpower and jobs for agricultural laborers, on the other. In 1917, farm implement manufacturers petitioned the federal government for "labor-saving farm machinery." The United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) and local state leaders supported the move to mechanized equipment. "Improved farm machinery is expected to very largely offset labor shortage," the *Messenger* counseled its readers. "To meet the shortage of labor," Oscar P. Resweber marketed a new cane cultivator in 1917 at St. Martinville (see Image 5). Billeaud Motor Co. of Lafayette highly publicized the new Fordson Tractor, which operated in cane, cotton and rice cultivation. By 1919, cane fields in the sugarcane civil parishes used more than 150 tractors. A year later, in 1920, that number increased to 500. Mechanized tools running on petroleum gradually reduced gang and manual labor as this made field laborers redundant and more machines reduced longterm expenses for cane farmers. However, environmental concerns resurfaced in the wake of sugar growth in southwest Louisiana.[72]

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[71] Figures all from the 1910 and 1920 U.S. General Population Censuses, St. Martin and Iberia Parishes. *Weekly Messenger*, 26 April 1919. For seasonal cane workers, see Greta de Jong, *A Different Day: African American Struggle For Justice, 1900-1970* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 100, 113, 115, 202.

[72] *Weekly Messenger*, 14 July 1917, p. 1; John Pharr Jr., Diary, 1913; *Louisiana Planter,* 51 (1913), 379-80; ibid., 55 (1915), 213-14; ibid., 64 (1920), 284; ibid., 65 (1921), 185, as found in Sitterson, *Sugar Country*, 348; Conrad and Lucas, *White Gold*, 64; *The Rice Belt Journal*, 4 October 1918; *Weekly Messenger*, 5 October 1918; *St. Landry Clarion,* 22 March 1919; *Le Meschasébé,* 28 June 1919; *Abbeville Progress*, 4 September 1920; *Donaldsonville Chief*, 28 October 1920.

The southwest Louisiana-based cane sugar market entered a disastrous and chaotic period after 1919, further curtailing traditional Creole life and culture along the Teche. Dr. E.W. Brandes, a pathologist for the USDA, discovered in the summer of 1919 that mosaic disease infected large areas of cane planted in south Louisiana. Brandes charged that, if Louisiana growers took no immediate measures, heavy losses would follow. Dr. W.E. Cross, Tucumán Argentina Experiment Station's director, expressed to the Louisiana Planters' Association the gravity of mosaic infection, and demonstrated how Argentina and Florida growers introduced new, disease-resistant, cane varieties successfully, bypassing any significant loss from the disease. Some Louisiana planters heeded Cross and Brandes's suggestions. However most growers, as J. Carlyle Sitterson observed, "saw no necessity for drastic action." As a result, mosaic infected virtually all of south Louisiana sugar cane, plummeting the industry to the verge of annihilation before growers and state leaders could take serious action. Mother nature was not alone in its continued destruction of Louisiana sugar cane; the federal government played an additional role.[73]

In autumn 1919, Louisiana growers met in New Orleans to discuss removal of price controls set by the United States Sugar Equalization Board the previous year. The desire was to obtain twice the price for Louisiana sugar. Louisiana growers jeopardized the market in the process. In November 1919, the federal government granted Louisiana producers' wishes by releasing its price controls on Louisiana sugar prices. That year, many producers and agents responded to the global shortage of sugar, and consequently

[73] Mosaic attacked not only Louisiana cane, but also Texas, Georgia, and Florida cane, as well. See, E. W. Brandes, *The Mosaic Disease of Sugar Cane and Other Grasses* (United States Department of Agriculture, Bulletin No. 829, Washington, 1919); *Louisiana Planter*, 63-65 (1919-20), in Sitterson, *Sugar Country, 1753-1950*, 346, 355.

raised the price of the New Orleans-marketed raw sugar in early 1920 to 14 cents, and later to 24 cents. However, both growers and agents exaggerated global sugar necessity and sugar prices deflated dramatically in only a few months. By December 1920, the price of Louisiana raw sugar dropped to a staggering five cents per pound. Many growers decided to hold onto sugar in the hopes that prices would again rise in 1921.[74]

Prices did not rise in 1921, however, which financially ruined many Louisiana producers; especially small growers who were least able to manage their own losses and gains. An excess of cane carried over from 1920 rose. Stocks owned by refiners reached excessive levels, too. Additionally, growers and factories desperately needed money to meet obligations incurred to produce the 1920 and 1921 crop. The American Sugar Refining Company agreed with representatives of Louisiana raw sugar growers to refine and market the raw sugar on a toll basis. The accord collapsed however when the requested number of growers did not sign the agreement. That year, Louisiana factories produced 325,000 tons of raw sugar, priced at less than four cents per pound, the lowest price since 1913. Planters like John A. Pharr Jr. lost more than $70,000 (around $3 million dollars today) as a result of the 1920 and 1921 market crisis. For Pharr, 1920 would "always be remembered as the blackest in Louisiana sugar history." By 1922, raw sugar factories in south Louisiana dropped to 112, total, a 45% decrease in 22 years. Price controls contributed to the cane industry and culture's decline, but a further bout of environmental damage contributed to the final collapse of the plantation complex.[75]

Above all, crop and animal disease decimated the cane crop from 1924 to 1925. In 1924, pathologists cured mosaic, which had been attacking Louisiana cane since the

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[74] *Louisiana Planter*, LXV (1920), 280, 314, 344, 378; Sitterson, *Sugar Country, 1753-1950*, 355.

[75] *Louisiana Planter,* LXVII (1921), 271, 284, 328; ibid., LXVIII (1922), 162; in ibid., 346, 356.

early 1920s. But that same year, anthrax replaced mosaic. The *Cook County Herald* reported anthrax to be an "acute infectious disease affecting all domestic animals and man." Moreover, the disease "almost always" proved "fatal," even infecting the soil where growers buried infected livestock for up to ten years, the *Herald* observed. Indeed. That autumn, some 20,000 stock animals in south Louisiana died from the disease. As a result of the infection, sugar growers produced less than 100,00 tons of raw sugar for that milling season. Anthrax proved particularly destructive for the weakened cane economy in south Louisiana, as sugarcane growers still relied heavily on stock animals to lead ploughs in cane fields, and to transport harvested cane in carts from the fields to mills for processing. The loss of so many animals upon which sugar growers depended contributed still further to the decline of the cane industry. Other worries followed anthrax in 1924, however.[76]

In 1924, and again in 1925, Louisiana's fickle climate delivered a striking blow to the region's cane industry. In the summer of 1924, a severe drought hit south Louisiana from June to August, followed by an exceptionally and excessively wet season in early

[76] *Cook County Herald*, 31 October 1924; Conrad and Lucas, *White Gold*, 66; In fact, Louisiana was not the only state affected by anthrax in 1924. On 29 July 1924, *The Bakersfield Californian* announced the death of 20 persons and 700 heads of livestock in Mississippi, Arkansas and Tennessee. Two months later, on 20 September 1924, the *Newport Mercury* of Newport, Rhode Island, announced that the most "serious" outbreaks were in Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas and South Dakota. The *Scranton Republican*, of Scranton, Pennsylvania, reported the editor of the *Wellsboro Gazette*, Leon B. Cameron, dead at the age of 45 from anthrax on 3 October 1924. On stock animal importance and decrease in raw sugar mills in south Louisiana, see US Department of Commerce, Census of Agriculture; Peter J. Buzzanell, "The Louisiana Sugar Industry: Its Evolution, Current Situation, and Prospects," in US Department of Agriculture, Economic Research Service, *Sugar and Sweetener Situation and Outlook Yearbook* 18, no. 2 (1993): 18-44. A. B. Gilmore, *Directory of Louisiana Sugar Planters, 1922* (New Orleans: A. B. Gilmore, 1922), in John B. Rehder, *Delta Sugar: Louisiana's Vanishing Plantation Landscape* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 127, 139. For more information on the dependence on stock animals in south Louisiana cane fields, see John P. Reidy, "Mules and Machine and Men: Field Labor on Louisiana Sugar Plantations, 1887-1915," *AH* 72 (Spring 1998): 183-96, as found in John C. Rodrigue, *Reconstruction in the Cane Fields: From Slavery to Free Labor in Louisiana's Sugar Parishes, 1862-1880* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001), endnote 2; 181, 195.

1925. So severe, the drought caused farmers to reportedly pump water from bayous, coulées, and swamps to replenish the crop. Their efforts were fruitless. The 1924 and 1925 excessive rains and drought destroyed thousands of acres of cane in south Louisiana. Farmers failed to make ends meet, and had no other choice but to file for bankruptcy and close their plantations. As a result, 58 raw sugar refineries closed. The remaining 54 refineries produced a mere 47,000 tons of refined sugar, the lowest tonnage produced since 1868. Bit by bit, the sugar industry now contributed to the Creole community's demise. As incomes shrunk, families emigrated and tenancy collapsed. Community members, especially English-speaking residents of the region, looked to new, national-based industries to rescue southwest Louisiana from the dark ages.[77]

2.2 Modernization and National Integration

The rise of oil supplanted sugar as the region's primary output, and locals felt the impact of oil production in numerous ways. The oil communities were national and extractive in focus, and young white-identified American men swelled the oil towns, quickly changing the demographic and linguistic shape of these settlements. The growth of the region's towns ensured that while New Iberia had been relatively bicultural Creole-Anglophone, the new towns became more cosmopolitan with Anglophone and immigrant strangers settling among them. The impact of these changes would again weaken the cohesiveness of the older Creole community hearth. However, post-World War I civic leaders and secret fraternal orders composed of those same leaders, wanted to attract new investment and profit from the growth in tourism and other commercial opportunities. They embraced motion pictures and other media outlets, and consciously

[77] Conrad and Lucas, *White Gold*, 52, 67.

adopted an Anglophone modernization agenda that led to road construction and various city-level cosmetic projects. The impact of these changes brought still more non-Creole and non-southwest Louisiana settlers to the region and the once relatively isolated world of Creole southwest Louisiana gradually integrated into the national mainstream.

The discovery of petroleum in Iberia Parish in late 1916 and early 1917 shifted local dependence away from the once dominant sugarcane economy. In its place, a series of nationalizing-industries (oil and tourism above all) brought Creole southwest Louisiana to America, and America to Latin southwest Louisiana. Even before major drilling began, wild speculation spread that "the discovery of oil in [Iberia] Parish would triple the population in three years." Jean-Marie Langlois, rector of St. Peter Catholic Church at New Iberia, urged the Archbishop of New Orleans in January 1917 to purchase land in New Iberia before the value exploded. Two months prior to this, in November 1916, Dr. George J. Sabatier, P.A. Landry, John R. Perry, Julius Scharff, Alphonse Davis, Emile Simon, John A. Pharr, Henry N. Pharr, E.A. Pharr, Joseph Smith, Alfred Rénoudet, Solange Sorrel, Edmond A. McIlhenny, Charles C. Henshaw, Robert Martin, Léopold Kling, Lazare Kling, Ventress Smith, Walter Burke, and other leading members of the Iberia planter class, chartered the New Iberia Oil Co. Sabatier, Landry, Simon and Sorrel represented a small group of bilingual, elite Creoles who served as cultural liaisons between the Anglophone business class and Creoles. By February 1917, local Iberians chartered 14 oil companies and according to the *New Iberia Enterprise*, "seriously engaged" in oil prospects. Above all, the new possibilities rejuvenated morale for concerned cane growers whose plantations oozed oil, and who could use oil revenues as a secondary income to bolster farming profits. Moreover, oil discovery drew many white-racialized non-Louisianians into the region to test extraction,

build platforms and derricks, and lease the land. However, the process of in-migration had long-term effects on the Creole dominance of the region. Not only did the oil industry attract outsiders, but their arrival coincided almost simultaneously with the out-migration of Creole sugar workers. The net effect of this in- and out-migration resulted in the transformative acceleration of the region from a Creole society to a society with Creoles. Other communities along the Teche equally benefitted financially from oil discovery.[78]

Surveyors also located new oil fields in neighboring St. Martin Parish in 1916 and 1917, with similar hopes for economic diversity in the parish. In 1917, an anonymous resident wrote to the *Weekly Messenger* that "we in our little town [of St. Martinville] is [*sic*] not jealous of the New Iberia boom, but it is time for us to look to our own opportunities." The concerned resident explained that "the St. Martin swamps mean[t] unlimited opportunities in the oil business." He also noted the superior quality and production of the Laramp, and Moor & Hagar oil fields already in the parish. Indeed, derricks had been pumping oil on the Granger property in St. Martin Parish since early 1917 and oil prospectors paid handsome prices for leasing the land. Hope became reality in 1919. On 22 February 1919, surveyors discovered oil at Bayou Bouillion, a tributary of the Atchafalaya River. The Hope Oil Co. leased 220 acres of land to extract it. Laizaire Bienvenu reported that St. Martin's "is the best lubricating oil ever found in any oil well in Louisiana or Texas." As the future of sugar became less certain, oil offered both a

[78] Conrad, *New Iberia*, 334-5; Jean-Marie Langlois to J. H. Blenk, 20 January 1917, folder St. Peter-New Iberia, ACDL. Companies include (1) Little Bayou Oil Co., (2) New Iberia Oil Co., (3) Gulf Refining Co., (4) Sun Oil & Pipe Line Co., (5) Producers' Oil Co., (6) Roxana Co., (7) H. T. Staiti Corp., (8) Jance Bros., (9) Gardner & Noble, (10) Loreauville Oil Co., (11) Enterprise Oil Co., (12) Marston Oil Co., (13) Nuckolls-Knight Co., (14) Henshaw-Dupérier-Bernard combine. The *New Iberia Enterprise and Independent Observer*, 18 November 1916, 24 February 1917, 3 March 1917 in Conrad, *New Iberia*, 334-5.

distraction and a prospect for diversification. And, some local Creoles and especially English-speaking town leaders, came to welcome both the new industry as well as the influx of new residents.[79]

As a result of oil activity, between 1910 and 1920, a second wave of English-speakers migrated to St. Martin and Iberia Parishes, making English language and outside voices more visible and audible in Creole spaces. The white population of Iberia increased by 2,000 and St. Martin by roughly 3,500; mostly migrants from Texas and Mississippi. Melvin Fisher, editor of the *Enterprise*, excitedly proclaimed that "because of the oil boom," New Iberia was overrun by strangers, and that "hotels and restaurants ha[d] never done the business that they [we]re now doing ... the entire community will prosper." Just as sugar cane farmers recruited English-speaking outsiders (mostly African American), the oil industry brought white Anglophones to Iberia and St. Martin Parishes. The new arrivals contributed to consecutive population shifts, particularly towards more English-speakers along the Teche. Creoles still represented the overwhelming majority of the population in Iberia, St. Martin and Lafayette, but Anglophone institutions now gave more sight and sound to the English language and Anglo-American voices. Outsiders diversified local industry still further.[80]

During World War I, and shortly thereafter, to offset the unpredictable weather conditions, demand, and proceeds of single crops, southwest Louisiana sugarcane farmers began alternating cane with sweet potatoes and sweet corn, and complemented their

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[79] *Weekly Messenger*, 14 April 1917, 28 July 1917, 22 February 1919.

[80] In 1910, there were 16, 444 whites in Iberia Parish and 13, 273 in St. Martin Parish. By 1920, there were 18, 634 in Iberia and 17, 641 in St. Martin. There was therefore a 13.32% increase in Iberia and 32.91% increase in St. Martin. Figures from 1910 and 1920 U.S. General Population Censuses for Iberia and St. Martin Parish. US General Population Census 1920, Iberia, St. Martin and Lafayette Parishes. Additional demographic information can be found in the 1916 US Census of Religious Bodies and Catholic parish reports at the ACDL.

acreage by producing animal feed, fruits, and honey. In 1918, the *Weekly Messenger* urged apiarists to increase their production of honey with the promise of special assistance. E.C. Davis, a bee specialist of the Louisiana State University Agricultural Extension Division, recognized that Louisiana had more bees – in proportion to its size – than any other southern state. He encouraged south Louisianians to improve their apiaries and to use honey from beehives as a substitute for "the scarcity of sugar" extracted from cane. Davis later reminded Louisiana farmers "one of the most profitable investments that can be made in the agricultural line is in beekeeping." By 1919, apiaries on average yielded 50 pounds of honey for a colony of bees, five pounds more than in 1918 and 8.5 pounds more than in the years 1913-1917. Local apiarists sold ⅓ of the product to unidentified "outside markets." In 1900, experts valued bees for the entire parish of Iberia at $655; in 1921, one apiary alone in southwest Louisiana carried a value of $500 to $2,000 per year. Sweet potatoes and honey did not enrich Creole growers as cane had, but agricultural diversification helped to shift the nature of the interactions between Creole workers. Whereas cane required gangs of workers, apiaries, and potatoes required single families or perhaps even one person to maintain the hives, sweet potatoes and sweet corn. The unity of cane farming dissolved and its work gangs remained an increasingly distant memory. These changes in agriculture and labor helped shift not only the nature of economies in southwest Louisiana, they also shifted the tenor of social relations. Above all, a new sense of Americanness emerged across the nation after the close of World War I. The age of modernization and civic pride arrived, thrust by nascent English-language chambers of commerce and Anglophone civic boosters.[81]

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[81] Walker, *Southern Farmers*, 22; Maurine Bergerie, *They Tasted Bayou Water: A Brief History of Iberia Parish* (Ann Arbor: Edwards Brothers, 1962), 47; *Weekly Messenger*, 8 June 1918; ibid., 10 August 1918; ibid., 21 June 1919; *Progress*, 21 August 1920; ibid., 15 January 1921.

The organization of chambers of commerce in the postwar period marked a crucial turning point in further economic diversification, demography and language along the Teche. In late April 1919, Dr. Édouard Louis Estorge (later known as Edward Estorge), a Creole married to an Anglophone Methodist, proposed the reorganization of the defunct Iberia chamber. Edward, his brother Albert Estorge (also married to an Anglophone), New Iberia Mayor H.S. Sealy, and Judge J.S. Power, attended the informal reorganization meeting. Joseph Davis, a fellow Iberian by birth – but resident of Santa Monica, California – also attended. Davis expressed the view that the town had not yet "awakened to its possibilities." He suggested that the town clean up its avenues and invest in a "live chamber of commerce with a hired secretary who had nothing else to do but get out literature and look for big things for the city." Davis concluded that virtually all California towns had a "paid man to do nothing else but boost, and it would pay [New Iberia] to wake up and advertise [its] resources." The townsmen in attendance agreed with Davis. Furthermore, Melvin Fisher and others present felt that the time had come for modernization and civic engagement to replace the parochialism that characterized the city-parish before World War I. The decision to resurrect the defunct Iberia Chamber of Commerce was pivotal on three accounts. First, it sought to expand even further the economy of the city-parish and its surroundings. Second, the Iberia chamber brought in external, English-speaking ideas and voices to modernize the city-parish. Third, the commerce which Davis sought to promote had the potential to bring in mainstream English-speaking American culture, which might contribute to demographic and cultural change in the Teche Country. Participants at the informal meeting agreed to hold a formal organizational meeting.[82]

[82] *Enterprise*, 26 April 1919, in Conrad, *New Iberia*, 340-341. Albert Étienne Estorge was born 6

Townsmen present at the informal April meeting met again in June to formalize the re-organization of the old Iberia chamber. They used the local parish newspapers, the *New Iberia Enterprise* and the *Weekly Iberian*, to lecture businessmen on the merits of a chamber. Fisher, editor of the aptly named *Enterprise*, reasoned with readers that "New Iberia must have a live Chamber of Commerce if [the city] ever hope[d] to see a changed condition." Chamber boostering proved successful. Seventy-five Iberians from commercial and local businesses attended the reorganization meeting. Due to the enthusiasm shown by the presenters and interested businessmen, attendees appointed a temporary board of directors at the meeting, and established a goal of raising $5,000 for the chamber's operations in 1920. The temporary board included H.W. Carver, Edward Estorge, H.S. Sealy, Fritz Dietlein, Ventress Smith, Alfred Lewald, John Taylor, Luke Bertrand, Robert Jacob, A.C. Barnes, Dr. E.S. Fulton, and Melvin Fisher. Bertrand and Estorge were the only Creoles. On 17 June 1919, the temporary board finalized the re-organization of the New Iberia chamber and the new chamber elected its first board of directors. In the final weeks of 1919, it hired English-speaking Frank Noel of Houston, Texas, as the organization's leader. Through its initial leaders – Davis and Noel – New

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March 1868 in St. Landry Parish to Dr. Joseph Léonard Déloguier Estorge and Marie Julie Buard. He married Irene Burgess of St. Landry Parish in 1893. Edward Estorge, born Édouard Louis Estorge, was born 8 August 1866 in Opelousas. He married Nell Ethlene Scally in New Orleans on 5 February 1918. Albert, his wife, and children, are all buried at Rose Hill Cemetery, New Iberia, the cemetery for Jews, and Episcopalians. http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=73618294. The Kling brothers, who were French Jews, Edward Estorge, Albert Estorge, Melvin Fisher, and others, were supporters of the Unsectarian Aid Society, a white-only mutual aid society which sought to bridge the gap between differing and sometimes hostile religious groups in New Iberia. See "Unsectarian Aid Society," *New Iberia Enterprise and Independent Observer*, 10 January 1920, p. 5.

Iberia brought America's business voice to Teche Country. But, this was not without sharing a bit of the Teche Creole world with America first.[83]

The development of two transcontinental tourist highways through New Iberia, the Pershing Way and the Old Spanish Trail, emerged as a key project of the new chamber in the development of the tourism industry of Iberia Parish. The Pershing Way (suitably named after the World War I hero General John J. Pershing), known as "the great tourist route," stretched from Winnipeg in Canada to New Orleans. Melvin Fisher took pleasure in awaiting the day when the Way "open[ed] its gates for the influx of tourists. The natives in South Louisiana are going to marvel at the number of sightseeing motorists passing through and stopping en route." In view of the new tourist highway, civic leaders labored to prepare their towns for the influx of English-speaking tourists who might arrive in their motor vehicles upon the suitably nationalistic Pershing Way. The two highways transformed the region. The Pershing Way entered the Teche Country from the north while the Old Spanish Trail bisected Louisiana east and west following a line of Spanish forts that dated back to colonial times. The highways promised to open the gates of Teche Country to the world. But they also would bring the world to Teche country. In fact, the two highways allowed community members to "go places and seek out commercial or private leisure activities," the *Enterprise* declared. On the one hand, this represented a new degree of freedom and mobility for south Louisianians. On the other hand, it undermined community cohesion and social life. Additionally, navigation to and from the region for the petroleum and sugarcane industries would be easier along the highways.[84]

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[83] Ibid., 10 May 1919; as found in ibid. 342-3; Conrad, *New Iberia*, 343.

[84] *Enterprise*, 22 May 1920. Walker, *Southern Farmers*, 179, 183.

In early January 1920, Frank Noel invited the Pershing Way's route manager to deliver a speech before the New Iberia chamber for the purpose of convincing chamber members to adopt and invest in the touristic way. At the meeting, the manager confidently confirmed that any "forward-looking" town would see the benefits. Towns interested had to join the Pershing Way Association. This required an annual fee for each town but the advantages, officials explained, far outweighed the annual membership fee. For instance, towns would receive widespread publicity through the association's monthly magazine, which operated as a tour guide for member towns along the Pershing Way. By the end of January 1920, New Iberia had the necessary subscriptions for publicity in the association's magazine. Locals thus agreed on the highway and publicity. Lafayette, Morgan City, New Iberia, Houma, Jeanerette, Franklin and other towns pledged over 600 memberships to the Pershing Way Association by February 1920. In so doing, New Iberia and Iberia Parish joined other southwest Louisiana towns on a 100-mile stretch from Houma (Terrebonne Parish) to Lafayette and dubbed the area "Pershing Way territory." Indeed the name "Pershing Way territory" served the thoroughly American project well. Henry Ford's Model T cars, manufactured for a mass American market in Detroit, would roll along the Pershing Way indistinguishable in their uniform black paint. The road named for a military hero likewise celebrated "Black-Jack" Pershing. The term "territory" evoked colonization, and equally served as the formal precursor for any region to become an American state. The Pershing Way territory carved an Anglophone America thoroughfare through the heart of Creole Louisiana. However, the parish still had not yet seen the fruits of its labor. [85]

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[85] *Progress*, 31 January 1920; *Weekly Iberian*, 20 January 1920.

Recalling Joseph Davis's April 1919 suggestions, the city of New Iberia reacted first to infrastructural needs in order to pamper and entice tourists, ensuring a constant flow of traffic and new revenue into the city and parish. In May 1920, the Women's Council (WC), the female auxiliary of the New Iberia Chamber of Commerce, embarked on a beautification project of West Main Street, the city's main thoroughfare. After pavement, a significant area of neutral ground remained. There, the WC decided to plant oleanders and palm trees for the sole purpose of making it attractive to tourists. To finalize the road improvement project of New Iberia's nascent commercial district, 63 citizens pledged $10 each to illuminate Main Street with street lamps and dubbed the street "the White Way," after the Great White Way nickname of New York City's Broadway Avenue. With highways, flower- and palm-lined brick roads, illuminated streets and car parks, civic boosters in Iberia Parish transformed the city into a modern city, virtually overnight. The larger American populace residing outside the hearth, now had direct links into the heart of Creole communities through paved roads and national and international highway systems. Incrementally, albeit at times rapidly, the civic-minded, English-speaking Teche area residents altered the region to cater to national culture in order to expand on the shrinking cane economy. Local chambers and their women's auxiliaries improved the physical aspects of the towns and parishes. However, the city-parish failed to attract outsiders in other ways. The region still lacked nationalized forms of entertainment venues. Not for long, though.[86]

National fraternal societies expanded membership along the Teche at the exact moment when modernizing Creole communities lacked national forms of entertainment venues. The Elks Society cohered American residents around civicism and growth, the

[86] Conrad, *New Iberia*, 346; *New Iberia Enterprise and Independent Observer*, 8 and 15 May 1920; *Weekly Iberian*, 8 May 1920.

English language, and whiteness. In 1919 and 1920, New Iberia Lodge 554 expanded its membership to include new Elks, all prominent members of the New Iberia Chamber of Commerce, Pershing Way Association, Civic League, and charter members of some of the Iberia Parish oil companies. Commerce and English lay at the heart of their enthusiasm to thrust southwest Louisiana into a national American consciousness. In January 1919, New Iberia Lodge member Melvin Fisher declared that "We need to lay a new emphasis on Americanism," and "Let English be the speech of all assemblies and the primary language in all schools." Additionally, many lodge constitutions described the organization as an "American lodge, exclusively for citizenship of white male citizens." Men of color had attempted to join Elks lodges throughout the country, only to be barred first by the organization, then by state constitutions. Louisiana Elks lodges did not officially prohibit nonwhites membership into the organization, but local lodges did not extend invitations to nonwhites to social events. For instance, in New Iberia, Abbeville, Opelousas, Lafayette, Baton Rouge, and New Orleans, when not specifically meeting for the organization's members, Elks lodges invited the general [white] public to its events. Elks lodges effectively created a national web of leading citizens with each lodge contributing to – and strengthening – national links between distant communities cohering around a segregated, English-speaking vision for interwar America.[87]

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[87] New Iberia installed members included Ventress Smith, Harvey F. Hill, C. M. Compton, R. D. Southwell, and Alfred Lewald; none were Creoles. Southwell was Melvin Fisher's father-in-law. J. Herbert Klein, *All About the Order of Elks: Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks: Past, Present and Future* (Los Angeles: International FA Publishing, 2011), 179; Julius Scharff, the Jewish owner of the Elks Theater, was elected "Loyal Knight" by Lodge 554 members on Thursday, 4 March 1920, *Enterprise*, 6 March 1920; Conrad, *New Iberia*, 259, 261n, 334, 340n, 342n, 344-5, 351; *1920 U.S. Census*; *1930 ibid.*; *Encyclopedia of Southern Jewish Communities* website. Accessed 15 June 2013. Last update unknown.
http://www.msje.org/history/archive/la/new_iberia.htm. For more on Marion Swords, see *Clarion*, 09 December 1916. "Council of Defense," *New Iberia Enterprise and Independent Observer*, 25 January 1919, p. 4; St. Francisville *True Democrat*, 16 September 1916; *Progress*, 13 February 1915; Klein, *All About the Order of Elks*, 179; Conrad, *New Iberia*, 259. There were

To popularize the organization's mission to nationalize and integrate rural communities, the Elks constructed theatres and hosted English-language cultural events. In 1919, New Iberia Jewish businessman Julius Scharff reopened the Elks Theater in downtown New Iberia. Gertrude C. Taylor, a resident of New Iberia, recalled that "the Elks Club [...] sponsored dances." In addition to the dances, Johnny Holbrook Jr., another Iberian, remembered that "there were some excellent road shows that came to the Elks [theater]." One must not forget that "any Broadway roadshow that played in New Orleans usually played at the Elks Theater on its way to Texas. Most of the time it was a 2-or-3 night stand," Holbrook added. Model Ts and early Chevrolet trucks packed along New Iberia's Main Street, entering and exiting along the Pershing Way and Old Spanish Trail. In June 1919, Opelousas Lodge 1048 announced plans to build a gymnasium, swimming pool, and bowling alley, expanding on its annual dances and flag raising ceremonies held each year on the 4th of July. Patriotism and civic education projects sponsored by the Elks played a key role in injecting Creole southwest Louisiana with mainstream American values. As discussed in chapter one, the Catholic Church

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nonwhite lodges of the Elks in the United States, for instance in New Jersey. See *The Muskogee Cimeter*, Muskogee, Oklahoma, 18 October 1907. In 1909, the State of Georgia criminalized "negro societies," like the Elks and Knights of Pythias. See *Opelousas Courier*, 21 August 1909. Similarly, in 1912, the State of New York passed legislation banning "negro societies" of the Elks, Oddfellows and Masons using the same names, rituals and uniforms as whites. *The Day Book*, Chicago, Illinois, 30 May 1912. For the Charles Weaver quote, see the *Lower Coast Gazette*, Pointe-à-la-Hache, Louisiana, 13 February 1909. *Le Meschacébé*, 1 January 1921. For discussions on race by default through absence of race-marking, or "petty apartheid," see Grace Elizabeth Hale, *Making Whiteness: The Culture of Segregation in the South, 1890-1940* (New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2010); Thomas J. Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty: The Forgotten Struggle for Civil Rights in the North* (New York: Random House, 2009); Nancy A. Hewitt, *Southern Discomfort: Women's Activism in Tampa, Florida, 1880s-1920s* (Champaign-Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001); Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina, 1896-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); Frederickson, *White Supremacy*; Baker, *Following the Color Line.* On Fisher's lodge membership, see Henry E. Chambers, *A History of Louisiana* (vol 2, Chicago and New York: The American Historical Society, Inc., 1925), 289-90.

prohibited Catholic membership into secret orders. However, the Catholic Church could not prohibit Creoles from attending Elks-sponsored community events that transcended religious and denominational differences. Additional national fraternal societies (cohering residents around a white American identity, English language, shared cultural forms, and racial segregation) soon followed. Others included the Knights of Pythias and Maccabees. These organizations serve as an example of the types of national organizations taking root in the heart of Creole communities in southwest Louisiana. Creoles managed to negotiate their absorption into the American mainstream through the invention of a past and identity that sat well with prevailing national cultural interests and inclinations.[88]

Invented Identities

Just as Creole people struggled with a declining cane economy and the tensions of modernization, Americans became fixated on southwest Louisiana and on the place of Creoles in US society as an exceptional and fictional community. As Creole southwest Louisiana became integrated into the region and nation, more and more travelers became familiar with Teche Country. Hollywood helped by idealizing the 18th century Acadian migration story and by presenting Creoles as rural rustics. This pre-modern idea is

[88] The Elks Theater originally opened in 1907, but closed in 1914 until Scharff reopened it in 1919. Conrad, *New Iberia*, 407-409. His religious affiliation was determined from his association with the New Iberia Jewish community, including its synagogue, and was confirmed in the *Encyclopedia of Southern Jewish Communities* website. Accessed 15 June 2013. Last update unknown. http://www.msje.org/history/archive/la/new_iberia.htm The same website discusses his opening the Elks Theater in 1919. Julius's parents, according to the 1910 and 1930 censuses, were born in Germany, although he was born in Louisiana.; *Clarion*, 28 June 1919; ibid., 13 July 1918. Additional secret fraternal orders along the Teche with lodges in New Iberia included the Knights of Pythias and the Knights of the Maccabees. Chambers, *A History*, 289-90. The Elks donated money to the New Iberia "Unsectarian Society." See, "Unsectarian Aid Society," *New Iberia Enterprise and Independent Observer*, 10 January 1920, p. 5.

significant: at the very moment when America began to modernize and transform itself, many Americans began to also romanticize lost causes and historic civilizations, the Old South included. Importantly, the invented past became usable in a way to cohere national audiences around certain shared messages of the past. The motion picture *Evangeline* (released in 1919 and based on Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's poem of the same name) enabled national movie producers to idealize a pre-modern bucolic rural idyll (St. Martinville), heroicize the doughty Nova Scotians who settled among Creoles, First Nations, Europeans, and Africans in southwest Louisiana, and to make southwest Louisiana part of the American story. That message provided income for southwest Louisiana leaders (Creole and Anglophone) who watched Louisiana tourism increase as visitors traveled to see the idyll for themselves. One key Acadian booster, the bilingual French-English, Dudley Leblanc, worked assiduously to cultivate the Acadian message, divorcing whitened Creoles from those of yellow, tan, and brown hues in the process, but simultaneously held true to a language many Creoles shared (French). The consequences of these changes proved substantial for Creoles. The romanticization of the Acadian narrative placed them into the national consciousness, but the pursuit of an idyll, and a racially-defined whitened Acadianness, also undermined the once unified Creole community.

Through interests in colonial revivalism after World War I, elite white Anglophones throughout North America gave life to the cultural and historical tourism industry based on an invented, romanticized, and feminine past. As Stephanie Yuhl observes, in Charleston, South Carolina, "during the 1920s and early 1930s, elite white-identified women formed the backbone of an energetic cultural movement that sought to celebrate the city's historic character through the fine arts, literature, historic

preservation, and folk music." Suffragist and businesswoman Susan Pringle Frist, and others, took immediate action to restore Charleston's old district into a living museum of the whitened and femininized colonial and antebellum past. And yet Yuhl reminds us that "[t]hese women's historical understanding emerged from an invented past rife with nostalgia and longing." Similarly, white-racialized Americans invented the hula girl at Hawaii in the 1920s, as a tourism ploy. White-identified Americans reacted so favorably to the supposedly authentic escape to the untamed islands of brown and yellow hula girls, that by 1930, tourism ranked as the third largest industry in Hawaii after sugarcane and pineapple production. In 1926, a new highway, Highway 71, linked motorists to Gatlinburg, Tennessee, a "sleepy mountain village," for the first time. Motorists gained interest in the village for the town's crafts, which represented to travellers, "authentic mountain" cultural representations. Authentic may be an overstatement for their handicrafts, however. The Arrowmont School, located in Gatlinburg, which had originally opened in 1915, started a handicrafts program to teach local girls how to spin and weave in order to make quilts, blankets, baskets, and other crafts, which became commodities in a cultural tourism industry. The women in the village had not previously made such crafts, but the school's leadership recognized the extent to which white-identified Americans with financial means valued old world artistry in a rapidly expanding consumer market. Brenden Martin concludes that the Appalachian escape "prepared residents to contrive what visitors wanted to see" in order to significantly drive tourism.[89]

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[89] Stephanie Yuhl, "Rich and Tender Remembering: Elite White Women and an Aesthetic Sense of Place in Charleston, 1920s and 1930s," in W. Fitzhugh Brundage, ed., *Where These Memories Grow: History, Memory, and Southern Identity* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000): 228-30. Jane Desmond, *Staging Tourism: Bodies on Display from Waikiki to Sea World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 79. C. Brenden Martin, *Tourism in the*

Building on longstanding tropes, elite white-identified American citizens in early 20th century southwest Louisiana encouraged tourists to visit south Louisiana in pursuit of non-mainstream national culture. For Americans, south Louisiana represented a Latin region against which America defined itself. For Americans, sex, race-mixing and Francophone Catholicism persisted in Creole Louisiana. As Randall Kenan observes, New Orleans's French Quarter intoxicated white-identified America because "there, the loose, drunken, partying society we've come to think of as French and Catholic contrasts with the Protestant and the straight-laced and the early-to-bed/early-to-rise English." Creole quadroons who marketed "French sex" to a mostly white male clientele emerged as central to the Vieux Carré's seduction. Lascivious and lewd mixed-race women, alcohol, and endless game rooms, attracted enough attention for prolific popular writers like George Washington Cable, Grace King, and Sherwood Anderson, to convert into popular tropes and ideas which in turn shaped national perceptions about the Creole Big Easy. Additionally, within a stone throw from New Orleans lived "French"-speaking Catholic peasants, who often spoke Creole. [90]

Mountain South: A Double-edged Sword (Nashville: University of Tennessee Press, 2007), 125. See also Henry Knight, *Tropic of Hopes: California, Florida, and the Selling of American Paradise, 1869-1929* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2013), which also explores how the "sunshine states" (Florida and California) became tourist meccas for white-identified Americans.

[90] Randall Kenan, *Walking on Water: Black-American Lives at the Turn of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Alfred A. Knoff, 1999), 502; Anthony J. Stanonis, *Creating the Big Easy: New Orleans and the Emergence of Modern Tourism, 1918-1945* (Athens, Ga.: The University of Georgia Press, 2006), 1-2, 11; Emily Clark, *The Strange History of the American Quadroon: Free Women of Color in the Revolutionary Atlantic World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 37, 52, 85, 96, 133; Grace King, *New Orleans: The Place and the People* (New York: Macmillan Publishers, 1926); Sherwood Anderson, *Dark Laughter* (New York: Boni & Liveright, 1925). See also later popular works by William Faulkner, *Absalom, Absalom!* (New York: Random House, 1936) and Herbert Asbury, *The French Quarter: An Informal History of the New Orleans Underworld* (New York: Knof, 1938). Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, *Evangeline: A Tale of Acadie* (Boston: William D. Ticknor & Co., 1847).

In 1847, the exceptionally popular American writer, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, enshrined the archaic culture of these Acadians and their Creole descendants in southwest Louisiana in his romantic legend, *Evangeline*. But Longfellow's legacy did not end in the 19th century. By the 1910s, Hollywood adapted *Evangeline* into living people who personified Longfellow's characters, and sensationalized audiences from California to Washington, D.C. On 21 September 1919, the Los Angeles-based Fox Film Corporation released *Evangeline*, a six-reel silent motion picture directed by Raoul Walsh, staring Miriam Cooper and Alan Roscoe as the fictional Acadian girl Evangeline and her beloved Gabriel, who had been separated during the deportation of the Acadians in the 1750s. The *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* reported that "after a successful metropolitan run at the 44th St theater, where it was presented on an elaborate scale," Keeney's Theater in Brooklyn featured the motion picture for three full days. In Portland, Oregon, *The Oregon Daily Journal* promised its readers that "the big Fox production [of *Evangeline*]" would retain "the poetry and the sweetness of the original [poem]." Macon, Missouri, newspaper editors declared *Evangeline* to be "the most brilliant of motion picture achievements," and "the sweetest and most exalted of love epics." The 1919 release reminded Anglo-Americans of their romantic and tragic memory of southwest Louisiana and its displaced Creolized people. As a result, Walsh's *Evangeline* gave renewed meaning to the town of St. Martinville, where Longfellow and subsequent authors claimed Evangeline died in sorrow, having discovered the dying Gabriel in an East Coast hospital. Teche Country henceforth interested American tourists, not for the shared culture, genealogy and history of its multi-colored Creoles, but to view white-skinned living representations of Longfellow's 1847 epic poem on display. Before Evangelinization and Acadianization of the people and region could

occur, however, challenges remained. Above all, Americans and Louisianians identified – and knew – southwest Louisiana for its Creoles and for a major commercial route linking the region to the Gulf of Mexico and to the world.[91]

Creole identification persisted in southwest Louisiana through the first two decades of the 20th century, and Americans actively participated in identifying Creoles as such. At Sacred Heart, Oklahoma, in 1908, the *Indian Advocate* notified its readers that "Rev. Frs. Norbert and Hilary O. S. B. [were] engaged in missionary labors among the Creoles of Louisiana." After 1910, several non-Louisiana US residents launched product lines dubbed Creole and catered to a white and nonwhite-racialized clientele. In New York City, George A.K. Bungay and the Humania-Hair Company offered everything from Creole pomades to Creole hair weaves and shampoos. La Creole Laboratories, based in Memphis, sold (and widely publicized) their "Louisiana Creole" product line, owing Creole hair texture to their supposedly "pure" Spanish and French heritage. In a column praising the Memphis products, the *Spokesman-Review* observed that "The aristocratic Creole descendants of the French and Spanish who founded Louisiana have always been noted for their wonderful hair." That Americans recognized Creole people (and things believed unique to Creoles) to be singularly foreign illustrates that Americans continued to view Creoles as a distinct ethnic group in the United States.[92]

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[91] "Progressive Silent Film List," *Silent Era*, Web access July 2013; Felix Voorhies, *Acadian Reminiscences: With the True Story of Evangeline* (Palmer Co., 1907); *Weekly Messenger*, 28 May 1887; *The Saint Paul Globe*, 20 July 1896; the Chicago *Day Book*, 1 April 1913; "'Evangeline' Comes to Keeney's Theater," *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 26 October 1919, p. 73; "'Evangeline' Is Coming to Strand," *The Oregon Daily Journal*, 30 October 1919, p.S 12; "Princess Theatre," *Macon Chronicle-Herald*, 25 October 1919, p. 1.

[92] *The Indian Advocate*, 1 April 1908. Many newspapers publicized the New York City-based Creole product line between 1900 and 1930. "Bargains in Human Creole Hair," *Muskogee Cimeter*, 9 October 1915, p. 3; "The New Styles Are In This Book," *Kansas City Sun*, 4 August 1917, p. 3; "For Beautiful Hair," *El Paso Herald*, 18 August 1920, p. 8;

Creoles themselves continued to self-identify as a distinct Creole ethnic group through the first decades of the 20th century, as well, using language and identity as badges of Creole authenticity. In 1906, the state of Louisiana named a Lafayetter, David Pelletier, State Superintendent of Education. The Lafayette paper proclaimed "everyone will say 'Hurrah for Dave Pelletier, a Creole proper of La Belle Louisiana" and went on to explain that "he takes a stock of his Creole language and it gets him anything he goes after." The paper observed that Pelletier had long awaited the day when he could re-infuse "the real thought and depth that lies in the Creole patois." In 1911, the *Lafayette Advertiser* demonstrated the degree to which Louisiana Creoles like Pelletier used Creole identity to win votes for political office. Several Creoles from throughout south Louisiana, including John T. Michel, Henry Gueydan, and Congressman Broussard, ran for various political office seats at the state and local levels. A quandary ensued. Candidate Michel ran for office as a Creole candidate. His competitors, Creole- and American-identified, discounted Michel as being Creole in name only and, moreover, asserted that Michel lacked the merits for the seat, chief among them, his inability to speak French. In view of the heated political elections, 150 people gathered at Sibille's Hall in Carencro (Lafayette Parish) to hear speeches from various politicians. Representative Robert B. Butler discredited Michel's candidacy and instead encouraged Creoles assembled at the meeting to vote for "Broussard and Gueydan [who] represented what was best and highest in Creole life in Louisiana." The issue, at least for Michel, was linguistic: Broussard and Gueydan both spoke French and English bilingually while Michel only knew English. It worked. Voters disqualified Michel on his inability to speak French alongside his political track record. Locals and outsiders saw residents of Acadian descent, like Congressman Broussard, as Creoles and integral parts of their

communities. Furthermore, these 1911 elections demonstrated that Creole community leaders preferred to support and vote for French- or Creole-speaking Creoles first and foremost. Although at various points in time, Louisianians and outsiders referred to Louisiana as "the Creole state," southwest Louisiana most frequently carried the name of its key commercial thoroughfare: Bayou Teche.[93]

Until 1919, Americans and Louisiana Creoles referred to the Creole communities along Bayou Teche as "Teche Country;" named for the 125-mile-long small river penetrating the region west of the Atchafalaya Basin, and serving as the region's chief thoroughfare until highway projects after World War I. In 1913, the Chicago *Day Book* spoke of the "Teche Country," and other regions near the Mississippi River delta, as being "in peril" from flooding. The Assumption Parish Police Jury approved a bridge linking Bayous Bœuf (Assumption Parish) and Chêne (St Martin Parish) in 1916, stating that "[the bridge] will connect this parish with the Teche Country." The *New Orleans Herald* likewise presented a number of prominent dentists in its summer 1918 issue, noting that Dr. O.J. Trappey was "originally [...] from the beautiful Teche

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[93] "The Drummers Ticket," *Advertiser*, 22 August 1906, p. 1; ibid., 21 November 1911. There is an abundance of sources of southwest Louisianians, including those of Acadian descent, referring to themselves as Creoles, and being referred by others as Creoles. The following are some examples: "Execution Will Be Private," *Weekly Messenger*, 13 October 1906; "They Do Not Agree," ibid., 24 August 1907; "Aude Dugas and Sidonia Landry Marry," ibid., 10 October 1908; ibid., 27 January 1912; "Death of Mrs. O. J. Durand," ibid., 12 July 1913; "Church Fair," ibid., 29 March 1919; "Business Increases," *Clarion*, 7 March 1914; "Union Unanimously Favors Parish Fair," ibid., 10 July 1915; "Patriotic Rally Attracts Large Crowd Tuesday," ibid., 23 March 1918; "Lafayette's History," *Lafayette Advertiser*, 28 February 1913; "Prof. Alcee Fortier," ibid., 13 June 1913; "Lake Arthur, the lovely," *Rice Belt Journal*, 1 August 1913; ibid., cols 1 & 2, 5 May 1916; "Hardy-Louviere" and "Death of Miss Octave Lognion," ibid., 26 January 1917. For references to "the Creole state," see "Letter from Prairie Greig," *The Meridional,* 6 November 1886; "Louisiana's Glory," *Tensas Gazette*, 23 March 1894; "The fighting game," *Albuquerque Evening Citizen*, 2 December 1905; "To Choose Partners," *Tulsa Daily World*, 4 November 1906; "Ornithology," *Deseret Farmer*, 26 September 1908; "$50 For A Word," *Arizona Republican*, 2 July 1912; *Rice Belt Journal*, col. 5, 1 August 1913; "Titles of Affection," *The Hartford Republican*, 14 May 1915; "Application of the Term Creole," New Orleans *Herald*, 1 November 1917; "El Bethel Baptist Church," *The Dallas Express*, 2 August 1919.

Country, having been born at New Iberia, La." Southwest Louisiana's most important thoroughfare, the Teche, took precedence over other appellations for the region. When road improvement and cement-top two lane highways replaced frequent travel by water, the Teche's commercial and touristic importance diminished. In addition, from 1919 onwards, *Evangeline* came to overshadow the region's bayou nickname.[94]

Railroad and tourism companies and the cultural symbolism of Nova Scotia, a homeland of many Creoles in southwest Louisiana, collectively helped to transform Teche Country into the "Land of Evangeline." Capitalizing on the 1919 movie, local boosters and tourist executives altered the way both Creoles and Americans remembered and invented the Acadian past. Within three years after Hollywood released *Evangeline*, newspapers throughout the country widely published on *Evangeline*, Louisiana and Nova Scotia. That year, the Southern Pacific Railroad ran advertisements for its routes to New Orleans and southwest Louisiana throughout the nation. In the public relations drive, Acadians emerged as a marketing ploy to attract tourists. They chose to market the route with the caption "When Evangeline came to Louisiana," and claimed that "The Eden of Louisiana is what the Acadians called the beautiful Teche Country." Similarly, in 1921, the Canadian Pacific Railway published promotional columns in the *Seattle Star* for its eastern line to "the Land of Evangeline in Nova Scotia." In the summer of 1921, the New York City-based Frank Tourist Co. proposed month long "de luxe" tours to "the Land of Evangeline." Walsh's 1919 Hollywood production re-infused the nation with

[94] The Chicago *Day Book*, 1 April 1913; *The Madison Journal*, 1 April 1916; New Orleans *Herald*, 27 June 1918. There are volumes of newspapers describing southwest Louisiana as Teche Country before 1919. See, for instance, the Napoleonville *Pioneer of Assumption*, 18 August 1877; *Weekly Messenger*, 2 April 1887; *The Saint Paul Globe*, 20 July 1896; *Advertiser*, 13 January 1900; *Meridional*, 16 February 1901; the *Mexico Missouri Message*, 11 June 1903; *Clarion*, 31 August 1907; the *Donaldsonville Chief*, 19 August 1911; St. Franciscille *True Democrat*, 23 March 1912; *Le Meschacébé*, 23 July 1921; The *Ouachita Telegraph*, 11 August 1888; the *Opelousas Courier*, Supplement, 8 October 1887; *Weekly Messenger*, 7 March 1891; *The Meridional*, 9 March 1901; *Weekly Messenger*, 26 January 1907.

Longfellow's mythic *Evangeline*, sparking renewed interest in south Louisiana. Railroad and tourism companies facilitated the dispersal of information on ill-fated Acadians and their advertising copy helped direct tourists to south Louisiana and Nova Scotia. Simultaneously, newly paved roads and tourist highways, like the Old Spanish Trail and the Pershing Way, offered motorists the opportunity to reach the rural Land of Evangeline by automobile. While vehicles provided avenues to "The Land of Evangeline," local level boosters moved carefully to craft two early Acadian theme parks.[95]

Through the early 1920s, Nova Scotians transformed the city of Grand Pré into a veritable international monument and mecca for Acadians, greatly impacting heritage-based tourism efforts in southwest Louisiana. In 1920, Acadian boosters erected "a statue of Longfellow's immortal Evangeline" at Grand Pré, Nova Scotia, reported the *Washington Post*. In 1923, a Montreal-based firm contracted an Italian sculptor to build a 7½" tall, carrara marble statue of Our Lady of the Assumption, patron saint of the Acadians. City officials erected the statue at Grand Pré which served as a memorial to the deportation of the Acadians. One year later, Nova Scotians created the "Acadian Memorials' Park," located at the center of the old square in Grand Pré. The park reinforced local attempts to authenticate what *The Evening News* of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, referred to as the "Land of Romance." Its grounds included an old priest house, church, water well and long row of picturesque willows. The creation of a real life heritage and folklife park at Grand Pré, with French-speaking descendants of Acadians

[95] For Southern Pacific Railroad advertisements, see for instance the *New York Tribune*, 17 November 1921; *Evening Star*, 1 December 1921; *Evening Public Ledger*, 15 December 1921; *The Seattle Star*, 8 June 1921; *New York Tribune*, 10 July 1921. Publishers equally used the term "Country of Evangeline" to refer to southwest Louisiana and to Nova Scotia. See "The Louisiana Acadians," *The Davenport Democrat and Leader*, 19 April 1923.

seemingly drove Acadian old world authenticity. The park – like the Evangeline myth – remained unchanged by modernization. Yet modernization produced the very Evangeline myth itself: highways transported tourists to the Acadian parks while Hollywood mythologized the Acadian story and politicians employed Acadianness in elections. Apparently isolated from modernity, yet a product of modern times, Acadian Nova Scotia set a path that Louisianians would soon follow.[96]

Building on the Acadian tourism craze in Nova Scotia and New England, a small group of influential southwest Louisiana residents took incremental steps – and modern means – to institutionalize, memorialize and commercialize their version of Acadian history and memory in Louisiana. In 1921, the Catholic Archdiocese of New Orleans assigned Fidèle Chaisson – an Acadian priest from New Brunswick, Canada, with longstanding interest in French Canadian nationalism – to St Mary Magdalen in Abbeville (Vermilion Parish). Chaisson's relationship with the bilingual Creole, Dudley Joseph Leblanc, who attended the Abbeville church, served as a catalyst for Acadian-

[96] *Washington Post*, 19 September 1920; "Evangeline and 'Our Lady'," *The Winnipeg Tribune*, 16 June 1923; "Land of Romance," *The Evening News*, 5 August 1924. For similar stories of southerners reinventing the past for touristic purposes in the 1920s, see the following contributions to J. William Harris, ed., *The New South: New Histories* (New York: Routledge, 2007): Jack E. Davis, "Pilgrimage to the Past: Public History, Women, and the Racial Order," and W. Fitzhugh Brundage, "Le Reveil de la Louisiane: Memory and Acadian Identity, 1920-1960": 204. There is evidence that a renewed Acadian identity crystallized, especially in the early 20th century, in various Francophone communities of the eastern provinces of Canada, who did not necessarily have Acadian heritage, but were Francophones and, perhaps married into some Acadian-descended families. See Jacques Paul Couturier, "La République du Madawaska et l'Acadie: la construction identitaire néo-brunswickoise au XXe siècle" in Maurice Basque and Jacques Paul Couturier, *Les territoires de l'identité: perspectives acadiennes et françaises, XVIIe et XXe siècles* (Moncton, New Brunswick: Chaires d'études acadiennes, 2005), 25-54. The idea of an "Acadie virtuelle," an imagined community of descendants of Acadians all over the world, united only by virtue of carriage of a "canonical" Acadian surname, or being a descendant of Acadians, emerged in the 20th century also, driven especially, by the Louisiana connection that Dudley Leblanc and Fidèle Chaisson propelled. See Carol Doucet, "Une délégation du CMA 2009 bientôt en Louisiane: les Acadiens du Nord invitent les Acadiens du Sud," in *Chronique du CMA* (2009); *Chronique* 12 (2008), found in Maurice Basque, "Acadiens, Cadiens et Cajuns: identités communes ou distinctes?," in Ursula Mathis-Moser and Günter Bischof, eds. *Acadians and Cajuns. The Politics and Culture of French Minorities* (Innsbruck: Innsbruck University Press, 2009), 29-30.

based activism. Leblanc expressed great pride in his Acadian heritage, and personified Longfellow's dreamy epic by insisting that he directly descended from René Leblanc, who figured in the poem. But Leblanc lacked political power to immortalize the story of his ancestors. In 1922, a window of opportunity materialized when Vermilion Parish voters elected Leblanc to the Louisiana House of Representatives. That year, Leblanc introduced a bill in the house to appropriate $15,000 (roughly $600,000 today) to purchase the premises and buildings of Pierre Olivier du Clozels's provincial Creole plantation, located in Arriègeville, a neighborhood on the periphery of the St. Martinville town limits. The grounds would be used for an Acadian memorial park at a later date. Leblanc's political aspirations coincided with his desires to institutionalize and promote Acadian history in Louisiana. Other boosters followed.[97]

After Acadians created a heritage park at Grand Pré, Louisianians responded by creating their own 17th century imagined Acadian community in Louisiana. In time, this contributed to the gradual racial divide of Creoles into whitened Acadians and blackened Creoles. A year after Grand Pré's Acadian Park opened, Acadian revivalists in Louisiana decided to make St. Martinville Louisiana's version of Grand Pré. In 1925, Susan Walker, an Anglophone Catholic from Opelousas, served in the Louisiana State Park Association, and proposed utilizing the Olivier property as a permanent monument to *Evangeline* and Longfellow. Using radio to garner support, Walker reached listeners from throughout the South, including Louisiana. Borrowing publicity techniques from the monument to the Confederacy at Stone Mountain, Georgia, she solicited money for

[97] "Priest Curriculum Vitae," Fidele Chaisson, ACDL; Brundage, "Le Reveil de la Louisiane: Memory and Acadian Identity, 1920-1960," in Brundage, *Where These Memories Grow*, 276-7; *Meridional,* 2 December 1922; *House Journal*, 2nd Regular Session, 1924, in Floyd Martin Clay, *Coozan Dudley Leblanc*, 52. For information on Leblanc descending from René Leblanc, see ibid., 8.

the monument in St. Martinville from school children, and state and local fair attendees. In 1926, local southwest Louisianians erected a statue dedicated to Longfellow's heroine. One year later, the Chambers of Commerce in five parishes along the Teche each marketed their parish as the "Acadian heartland," actualizing the imagined community boosters labored to produce. That southwest Louisiana Creoles of Acadian descent deliberately sought to reconnect with Acadians, Acadian history and culture, makes evident a deliberate attempt to reshape how Louisianians and the world remembered Acadians. But it also carried a racial message to the world: that "Louisiana Acadians," as some revivalists came to refer to themselves, were the whitened descendants of Francophone Canadians and historically kept distance from persons of African descent. This new identity inevitably required Louisiana Acadians to publicly disown tan family members, like Octa López, Dudley Leblanc's uncle. To prove this important racial distinction, activists went even further than dedicating Louisiana state parks to the history of Longfellow's romantic Acadians.[98]

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[98] *Weekly Messenger*, 13 July, 3 August, 17 August 1929, 8 February 1930; *Opelousas Clarion-News*, 23 January 1930; *Second Biennial Report of the State Parks Commission, Louisiana, 1936-37*, New Orleans, State Parks Commission, 1937, 65, as found in W. Fitzhugh Brundage, "Memory and Acadian Identity, 1920-1960: Susan Evangeline Walker Anding, Dudley Leblanc, and Louise Olivier, or the Pursuit of Authenticity," in Mathis-Moser and Bischof, *Acadians and Cajuns*, 59. See also Carl A. Brasseaux, *In Search of Evangeline: Birth and Evolution of the Evangeline Myth* (Thibodaux: Blue Heron Press, 1988), 46. Dudley Leblanc's father, Dolzé Leblanc, fathered a son, Optat Leblanc, later known as Octa López, with a mulâtresse from Côteau (western Iberia Parish) named Victoria Raymond. Victoria had been the common-law wife of a Mexican named Severino López. Optat Leblanc was born 31 March 1889 and baptized at St. Peter Catholic Church in New Iberia. Dolzé Leblanc recognized Optat as his natural son, as Dolzé's name appears as such in Optat's christening (St. Peter Church, "Registre de baptêmes, vol. 5," p. 89). The literature is vast on how Americans associated Creoles with race mixture as well as Louisiana Creole reactions. See, for instance, the "Creole in New Orleans Not of Colored Blood," *Oshkosh Daily Northwestern*, 18 March 1926; Domínguez, *White By Definition*, 91-149; Arnold R. Hirsch and Joseph Logsdon, *Creole New Orleans: Race and Americanization* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992). Walker was also President of the Longfellow-Evangeline State Park Association. See *Monroe News-Star*, 13 June 1928, p. 8; "Mrs. Hoover Greets Evangeline Girls," *The Bee*, 13 March 1929, p. 1.

In April 1923, Lafayette Parish celebrated its centennial, and organized the Attakapas Trail pageant. The pageant served as a first step to link the region to Longfellow's enduring mythology to stress the usability of the Acadian narrative. Reminiscent of an earlier pageant in Lafayette, which had presented local history as "picturesque [and] romantic," Attakapas Trail pageant organizers deliberately chose to expunge slavery, the Civil War, vigilantism, and Jim Crow from the repertoire. One pageant participant proposed to the director, "How much of the Civil War you want to emphasize, you know. I recommend very little." In other words, Acadian revivalists sought to exclude the 19th century from the history they chose to commemorate. In so doing, community members managed to reinvent the Acadian past by stressing the romanticized "simple village life of the Acadians" without reference to slavery, sectional conflict or black-racialized community members. To romanticize the Acadian past was, on the one hand, part of a larger southern Anglophone trend popularized in the 1910s and 1920s, which itself stressed nostalgia for racial harmony. Stressing racial harmony, for southern Anglophones, exorcized the violence and exceptionality of the slave past and enabled white-identified Southerners to present the Old South as part of a buccolic national story. This served as another myth, but one audiences lapped up. For Creoles, nostalgia for a romanticized past had multiple effects. It thrust the region into the national limelight but by celebrating their pre-modern roots, it enabled Creoles to temporarily (in tourism alone) halt the effects of the social, economic, demographic, and cultural changes surrounding them. By 1923, modern publicity, heritage-based tourism and reinventing the Acadian past, all served to disrupt Creole communities by whitening some and blackening others.[99]

[99] Brundage, *Where These Memories Grow*, 245, 249-70, 276-7; Conrad, *New Iberia*, 407-09. The

Adopting methods similar to the Arrowmont School in Gatlinburg, one booster named Susan Walker created costumed white Acadian mannequins to further authenticate Louisiana Acadians. She transported these Acadian mannequins to American cities on the east coast for important national events. In 1926, Walker exhibited a life size mannequin clothed in the "charming costum[e] of the period when Evangeline lived" at the Sesquicentennial International Exposition, a world's fair held in Philadelphia on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the signing of the declaration of independence. The event held national importance; President Calvin Coolidge and US Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover delivered keynote speeches, and over 100,000 persons entered the exposition's gates. The exhibit proved successful. At the end of the fair, a New York City department store requested to use the exhibit in its store window. New York City came as a likely place for Walker's life-size costumed Evangeline. For at least 30 years, including in 1926, railroad companies, ship companies, and tourist agencies heavily marketed vacations and short-stays to Grand Pré, Nova Scotia, from New York City. As historian Fitzhugh Brundage observes, "Longfellow's Evangeline [was already] an established icon" by the 1920s. The presentation of a life-size

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historiography on the Lost Cause is vast, but a starting place would be with Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1860-1920* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2009); Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865-1913* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); Reiko Hillyer, "Relics of Reconciliation: The Confederate Museum and Civil War Memory in the New South," *Public Historian* 33, no. 4 (Nov 2011): 35-62; Megan B. Boccardi, "Remembering in black and white: Missouri women's memorial work 1860-1910" (PhD diss., University of Missouri—Columbia, 2011); David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2009); Gary W. Gallagher, *Causes Won, Lost, and Forgotten: How Hollywood and Popular Art Shape What We Know about the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008); Karen L. Cox, *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (University Press of Florida, 2003); W. Scott Poole, "Religion, Gender, and the Lost Cause in South Carolina's 1876 Governor's Race: 'Hampton or Hell!'," *Journal of Southern History* 68, no. 4 (Aug., 2002): 573-98; Gary W. Gallagher and Alan T. Nolan, eds., *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000).

mannequin of Longfellow's cherished *Evangeline* on the east coast proved the push that Louisiana tourism needed. If Americans believed that descendants of Acadians withered with time after the deportation in 1756, Susan Walker's publicity demonstrated to the world that Acadians and their culture still existed unchanged along the banks of Bayou Teche.[100]

Just as Walker represented Acadians elsewhere, Leblanc did in Louisiana. In 1926, Leblanc attracted national and state attention to southwest Louisiana by using French language in electoral campaigns. His tactic helped authenticate Acadian culture and identity in Louisiana but also further imbued Francophone Creole communities with national politics, albeit through the Louisiana French language. *The Index-Journal* reported on 19 October that the "Louisiana Campaign Is One of Languages," noting Leblanc's use of French in south Louisiana to secure votes. A *Huntington Press* article read: "Creole Patois Means Election," one week later and reported that "He spoke to the voters in French in the southern parishes," and noted that "Louisiana is divided, racially speaking, into North Louisiana and South Louisiana," with Northerners descending from Anglophones and Southern Louisianians from French settlers. Leblanc garnered enough Francophone votes by politicking in French in south Louisiana – the more populous region of the state – to win the state Public Service Commission seat. Just as the National Democratic Committee recruited Lafayette-based Judge Julien Mouton to address Francophones in Indiana and on the East Coast in 1904, Leblanc was not the

[100] "Sesquicentennial Opens As Sun Shines," *New York Times*, 1 June 1926; Brundage, "Le Reveil de la Louisiane," 59-60. There are many examples of tourism agencies and railroad advertisements for trips to "Evangeline Country" from New York City. See for instance, the "Grand Excursion," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 5 August 1897, "Open Steamships," 28 June 1902, "Open Steamships," 19 June 1904, "On Way to Nova Scotia," 5 July 1907, "Land of Evangeline," 15 March 1908, "Nova Scotia," 16 July 1914, "Nova Scotia," 25 May 1924, "Nova Scotia," 13 June 1926; "Big and Little Journeys," *New York Times*, 27 July 1908, "Steamship Tickets," 8 May 1921.

first Creole to use French to build an electoral base. Crucially, however, Leblanc's usage of French among his own people gave strength and authenticity to the Louisiana Acadian movement which he and Susan Walker promoted. Leblanc represented living proof of Acadian perseverance through the modern era. According to C.T. Bienvenu, editor of the *Weekly Messenger*, tourism greatly increased and "business leaders in the region implored their neighbors to seize the commercial opportunities that the tourists represented."[101]

Conclusion

For southwest Louisiana Creoles, the changes to the plantation system and local economy brought landmark change to employment, gang labor, and community structure. They fueled the possibilities for out-migration and challenged Creole cultural cohesion. Urban growth and oil production, espoused by some Creoles, brought many outsiders to southwest Louisiana. Civic leaders adopted modernizing approaches, which both provided opportunities to Creoles, and challenged their cohesiveness. The growth of tourism and the re-creation of an artificial Acadian identity and culture provided income but for Creoles who cohered behind the new whitened ethnic identity, the changes the Acadian movement brought cut directly into the unity of the cross-racial Creole society of southwest Louisiana. The cumulative impact of these changes ensured that by 1925, the once cohesive Creole society of southwest Louisiana, had gradually transformed into a society with Creoles.

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[101] *The Index-Journal,* 19 October 1926; *The Huntington Press*, 21 October 1926; *Bluefield Daily Telegraph*, 22 October 1926; *The San Bernardino County Sun*, 24 October 1926; Brundage, "Memory and Acadian Identity, 1920-1960," 57. For the Bienvenu quote, see Harris, *The New South*, 192. Julien Mouton's use of French, once again, can be found in "Judge Mouton," *Lafayette Advertiser*, 19 October 1904; "Made Addresses in French," ibid., 2 November 1904, p. 12.

Chapter Three: Nationalizing Louisiana Catholicism

Introduction

Chapter two outlined the changes that occurred in southwest Louisiana in the aftermath of World War I – the greater integration of the region into the nation, the emergence of technologies, the in-migration and out-migration of peoples as the oil industry rose and the cane industry went into terminal decline. Chapter three examines the religious changes to the community and outlines the rapid growth – or visibility – of Baptists and Methodists, and equally exposes the ways that Catholic leaders responded to it. It demonstrates that evangelical Protestant churches, the expansion of segregated state education taught in English, and the emergence of Baptist private educational facilities (also taught in English), seriously undermined the religious and cultural coherence of Creoles along the Teche and that the Catholic Church's response unintentionally bolstered Americanization of Creole communities.

Creoles responded to the emergence of new churches and schools in different ways. Some converted to the Protestant denominations, either by choice or through inter-marriage. Black-racialized Creoles attended the segregated public schools and received instruction in English. And still other Creoles who clustered under the leadership of Bishop Jeanmard, began a robust socio-religious response. This included the expansion of Catholic churches, the introduction of religious orders and associations from outside of Louisiana, and the construction of Catholic parochial schools. The Lafayette-based bishop hoped, by these steps, to halt the attrition of his Catholic numbers. But, the tactics adopted ultimately accelerated the process of nationalizing Louisiana Catholicism as English language and Anglophone traditions dominated many

of the new religious orders. Although these non-Louisianian Catholics helped Creole Catholics to cohere around a common national Catholic identity (in a sea of change and anti-Catholic xenophobia), they also ensured that the brand of Catholicism followed in southwest Louisiana mirrored the national, Anglophone variant rather than the older Creole form. By the end of the 1920s, the Creole community faced even greater challenges to its coherence. The socioeconomic changes of the 1920s outlined in chapter two divided – more than cohered – Creoles, but the religious transformations of the era tilted toward the gradual Anglicization of Louisiana Creole Catholicism. These combined processes gradually Americanized Creole communities.

3.1 The nature of the religious and social challenge

The in-migration/out-migration of the region changed its religious demography from the predominance of Catholicism with isolated muted pockets of Protestant worship, to a more visibly eclectic religious map where the Catholic hearth zone of southwest Louisiana began to show greater diversity. Between 1900 and 1918, roughly 150,000 Roman Catholics and 27,000 Protestants lived in southwest Louisiana. Protestantism included eight denominations: National-Southern Baptists, Methodist Episcopalians (ME), Southern Methodist Episcopalians (SME), African Methodists, Protestant Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Lutherans and a smaller number of Protestants with allegiances to no particular Christian denominational community. Eight years after the armistice ending World War I, Catholicism and Protestantism both expanded in southwest Louisiana. But, a more diverse set of Protestant denominations (with sharpened racial and theological differences and identities) converged in the region, to include Southern Baptists, Negro Baptists, Protestant Episcopalians, Lutherans,

Presbyterians, Disciples of Christ, Churches of Christ, in addition to the four major Methodist sub-denominations, the ME, AME, CME, and SME churches.[102]

Baptists and Methodists, in particular, became more visible, and grew during the aftermath of the war, through the expansion of mission churches, Baptist parochial schools, and church-led health campaigns, especially in Acadia, Calcasieu, Iberia and St. Landry parishes. In 1916, Baptists counted roughly 8,702 members across southwest Louisiana parishes, and Methodists 8,334. Baptists particularly grew after World War I due to a number of successful tactics. In 1919, Southern Baptists in Louisiana pledged to raise $3 million dollars for state missions, home missions, an orphanage at Lake Charles, a hospital in Alexandria, and several Baptist parochial schools. Southern Baptism gained particular attraction during and after 1921, when the sub-denomination collectively waged, according to the *New Iberia Enterprise and Independent Observer*, "vigorous warfare against tuberculosis in [southwest Louisiana]." Additionally, in 1910, the Louisiana Baptist Convention expended $1,200 to employ the French-speaking Creole, Ozémé de Rouen, a native of Cameron Parish, to engage in "French missionary" work among Creole Catholics of southwest Louisiana. The Convention secretary provided de Rouen with two horses, a buggy, and manpower to assist in proselytizing French-language Baptism in Creole southwest Louisiana. By 1926, Baptist congregations nearly doubled to 15,001 members, and Methodists increased to 10,104. These various Protestant denominations offered more accessible places of worship and education,

[102] 1906 U.S. Census of Religious Bodies. Figures on Roman Catholics and Protestants include total number of denominational members in Acadia, Calcasieu, Cameron, Iberia, Lafayette, St. Landry, St. Martin, and Vermilion Parishes. The National Baptist Conference included a collection of Baptists of color and some whites, while the Southern Baptist Conference excluded nonwhites. African Methodism was also known as the African Methodist Episcopalian (AME) Church. Lutherans were members of the synodical conference of Missouri, Ohio, and other Midwestern states. Census demographers coded Protestants who were members of no particular denomination as "Other Protestants."

especially in the rural districts. The growth in power and appeal of the Protestant denominations represented a major change and challenge to the Creole Catholic establishment. [103]

More visible Baptists and Methodists presented only one challenge; new state regulations banned education in French in state schools which in turn accelerated the march of Anglo-American cultural forms. In 1921, the state legislature outlawed French in Louisiana public schools, and required that all Justices of the Peace be fluent in English. The local Catholic Church, without any formal edicts, gradually acquiesced to English language presence, and administratively had already begun the process prior to the language act. By 1921, moreover, a German (James Hubert Blenk) and an American (John William Shaw) replaced the long line of French-born New Orleans archbishops. English language came to dominate Archiepiscopal (archdiocesan council) proceedings as American priests came to, for the first time in Catholic Louisiana history, outnumber Francophone administrators in the Archiepiscopal Council (Archdiocesan council). And, for the first time, a New Orleans Archbishop (Shaw) published pastorals to the clergy and laity entirely in English. One by one, original territorial churches, whose record-keeping customs began in French, and whose clergy and parishioners continued to speak French, switched to English when new, English language, pre-printed stationary and

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[103] 1906 and 1916 U.S. Census of Religious Bodies. "Louisiana Baptist 75 Million Campaign," *St. Landry Clarion*, 6 September 1919, p. 1; "Southern Baptists Wage Vigorous Warfare Against Tuberculosis in this Section," *New Iberia Enterprise and Independent Observer*, 12 November 1921, p. 8. Arnold F. Nelson, *A History of Baptist French Missions in South Louisiana* (1994), as found in "History," *First Baptist Church Chataignier [Louisiana]*, website, http://fbc-chataignier.org/History/History-FBCC-Update-2010.htm, accessed 2 December 2014. Methodists also adopted French- and Creole-speaking missionaries from south Louisiana to assist in the expansion of Methodism among Creoles, and had done so since the 19th century. Martin Hébert, a native of St. Martin Parish, was the Methodist Church's chief French-speaking missionary in the latter 19th and early 20th centuries. See *Lafayette Advertiser*, 15 February 1879, p. 2; "Indian Bayou Dots," *Lafayette Advertiser*, 15 August 1913, p. 1; "Methodist Church Notes," *New Iberia Enterprise and Independent Observer*, 3 November 1920, p. 4.

register books replaced those documents printed in French. Administratively, then, French lost clout in Louisiana Catholic administration and by 1921, the state's Roman Church increasingly reflected the Anglophone tenor of society, both within and outside the diocese. Even if sermons and confessions continued in French, parishioners became more and more acquainted with the English language through additional Catholic services many of which Anglophone priests provided.[104]

Importantly, the shift to Anglo-centrism affected national immigration reform and the singularly Protestant tenor to the 1924 Immigration Act (Johnson-Reed Act). Immigration restriction exacerbated the language issues, with a decline in the number of Francophone Catholics coming from Europe to service the state's Catholic parochial schools and churches. Part of the explanation for the language shift in the new diocese lay in war-ravaged France and Belgium. The two nations traditionally provided southern Louisiana Catholic churches with French-speaking clergypersons and religious communities. Jeanmard noted to clergypersons in his diocese that "France, Belgium [...] and other countries, once mainstays of the foreign missions [...] are facing economic problems at home of so grave a nature that their contributions have necessarily been greatly reduced." War-impoverished Europe represented one reason for the rapid decline of European Francophone clergypersons in southwest Louisiana Catholic parishes; national politics, however, compounded that cultural severance. In 1921, the United States Congress placed a cap of 350,000 immigrants to the US per year. Three years

[104] Louisiana State Constitution 1921, Art 11, §47; Art 12, §1, 12, 13. For language shift in the sacramental registers in the Lafayette diocese, consider for instance the following locations, dates and reasons: Sacred Heart of Jesus (Grand Côteau, 1920, reason not mentioned), Immaculate Conception (Charenton, 1921 – After the bishop's visit), St. Anne (Youngsville, 1924 – After the bishop's visit), St. Martin (St. Martinville, 1925 – brand new register books all in English). For more, see Leumas, "Mais, I Sin in French," 50-7, 70, 139-44. Archbishops James Hubert Blenk and John William Shaw served in that capacity in the Archdiocese of New Orleans from 1906 to 1917, and 1918 to 1934, respectively.

later, in 1924, it passed the Johnson-Reed Act (Immigration Act of 1924), which reduced the annual quota to 150,000. The Act calculated each country's allotment to 2% of migrants residing in the US from each country in the 1890 decennial census. For France, Belgium, and Switzerland, the chief birthplace of Louisiana Francophone clerics, the 1924 quota law reduced entry to roughly 2,000, 200, and 1,700, respectively. In Iberia, Lafayette, St. Landry, St. Martin, St. Mary and Vermilion Parishes, the number of French-born residents decreased sharply from 763 in 1920 to 214 in 1930, alone (Figure 1). The Act of 1924 effectively cut the umbilical cord between those nations providing French-speaking clergy to dioceses in French-speaking south Louisiana. Creoles, thus, faced twin changes to an already challenged universe – first, they watched Protestant denominations grow and become more visible, then they suffered the indignities of English language politics.[105]

Louisiana Creoles also faced increasing hostility from anti-Catholic organizations which established themselves in Creole communities. The Ku Klux Klan, a self-defined anti-Catholic, American patriotic-building organization, organized branches in Creole south Louisiana between 1920 and 1922. In November 1920, the Klan made a "definite announcement" to organize in New Orleans. The New Orleans *Herald Tribune* noted that "Several prominent citizens are interested in the [Klan's] movement," and that the Klan endeavored, among other things, "to inculcate [...] exemplification of a pure

[105] Jules B. Jeanmard to the clergy, 18 February 1925, PB 2, p. 2, ACDL. Mae M. Ngai, "The Strange Career of the Illegal Alien: Immigration Restriction and Deportation Policy in the United States, 1921-1964," *Law and History Review* 21, no 1 (Spring, 2003): 75. US Congress, Senate, Committee on Immigration, *National Origins Provision of the Immigration Law*, 71 Congr., 2 sess., 4 February 1929. Act of 26 May 1924, chap. 190, 43 Stat. 153, in Mae M. Ngai, "The Architecture of Race in American Immigration Law: A Reexamination of the Immigration Act of 1924," *Journal of American History* 86, no 1 (Jun., 1999): 1. See also John Tracy Ellis, *American Catholicism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), 127. Only fragments of the 1890 decennial census exists. Instead calculations originate from number of migrants from those 3 nations in the 1880 census, as a rough estimate.

patriotism, the preservation of American ideals and the maintenance of White supremacy." Additionally, the Klan invited "only native-born American citizens who believe in the tenets of the [Protestant] Christian religion and owe no allegiance of any degree or nature to any foreign government [or] political institution" to join. In June 1922, the *Weekly Iberian* announced the presence of the New Iberia lodge when co-Klansmen, John C. Bussey, an Indiana-born sugar farmer, died at his home in Jeanerette. Elsewhere in the state, Klan activities increased. T. H. Harris, Louisiana Superintendent of Education, issued a three-page circular on 8 February 1923, in which he spoke of a Catholic school principal in Winn Parish, who the St. Maurice lodge of the Klan had given 24 hours to resign from the job, and leave the school. Failure to do so, they warned, would result in violence. The Principal resigned and sought work elsewhere. In the summer of 1923, the Rice City Klan No. 26, the Crowley lodge of the Klan, presented checks to congregations and ministers in Baptist and Methodist churches, black and white, in Acadia and Jefferson Davis Parishes, for being good American citizens. Alert to local histories, Klan organizers drew on illustrious citizens residing within Anglo-American pockets of Latin south Louisiana to give clout to the organization's new lodges. That they chose deliberately to found lodges in an overwhelmingly Latin Catholic region of the country to promote American ideals lends credence to the *Herald Tribune*'s description of the organization's purpose. They set up lodges in these areas of Louisiana precisely because something about the place remained not quite American. [106]

[106] More broadly, the organization placed itself against all persons of non-Anglo-Saxon Protestant stock and culture. There's a broad range of literature on the early 20th century KKK. A good starting place is Craig Fox, *Everyday Clansfolk: White Protestant Life and the KKK in 1920s Michigan* (East Lancing: Michigan State University Press, 2011); Kathleen M. Blee, *Women of the Klan: Racism and Gender in the 1920s* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2008); David

Bishop Jeanmard mobilized key state politicians, national Catholic leaders, and prominent local citizens to expel the Klan from south Louisiana. Jeanmard's actions drew upon a tradition of southwest Louisiana Catholic parochialism and brought Louisiana Catholic communities directly into the fold of national Catholic consciousness. When Jeanmard learned of the reorganization of the Klan, and particularly of its members, he moved swiftly to dismantle lodges, working closely with Governor John M. Parker, a sympathetic Presbyterian married to a Catholic. On 6 July 1922, Jeanmard issued a confidential letter to clergymen in his diocese, warning of the resurfacing "of a certain society," and clarified that the society in question hoped to "bar Catholics from holding office, and even to disfranchise them, on the plea that a Catholic is not, and cannot be a loyal citizen [...] and to bring about legislation to close our schools." The bishop urged clergymen to encourage qualified voters to pay poll taxes on time and to vote wisely (read, pro-Catholic candidates) in the 1924 elections.[107]

A. Horowitz, *Inside the Klavern: The Secret History of a Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999); and David J. Goldberg, *Discontented America: The United States in the 1920s* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 117-40. "Ku Klux Klan May Organize Here," New Orleans *Herald*, 18 November 1920, p. 1; Yvonne Brown, "Tolerance and Bigotry in Southwest Louisiana: The Ku Klux Klan, 1921-23," *Louisiana History* 47, no. 2 (Spring, 2006): 163, 167; Joseph Butsch, "Catholics and the Negro," *Journal of Negro History* 2, no. 4, (Oct., 1917): 405-410; T. H. Harris, State Superintendent of Education, Baton Rouge, 8 February 1923, Circular No. 1611, in Brown, "Tolerance and Bigotry." In the postwar era, nativist and nationalist rhetoric was widespread. Newspapers commonly headlined its front page with articles on "How to be a good American" and "Why English is important." See for instance, "To be an American," *New Iberia Enterprise and Daily Observer*, 10 January 1920, p. 2; "Really An American," ibid., 31 January 1920, p. 3; "What Ails the Country," ibid., 7 February 1920, p. 3. It is in Acadia, Jefferson Davis, Calcasieu, Cameron and parts of Vermilion Parish that Midwestern Methodist Anglophone rice and corn farmers settled in the 1890s, converting the barren landscape into highly profitable agri-business. See Rocky L. Sexton, "Rice Country Revisited: The Socioeconomic Transformation of a French Louisiana Subregion," *Louisiana History* 47, no. 3 (Summer, 2006): 309-32.

[107] Brown, "Tolerance and Bigotry," 153-168; Jules B. Jeanmard to the clergy, 6 December 1922, Pastoral Book 1, ACDL; "Says Klan is U.S. Problem," *New York Times*, 26 December 1922, p. 3, http://www.newspapers.com (accessed June 2013); *Lafayette Daily Advertiser*, March 28, 1923; *Weekly Iberian*, March 31, 1923; Crowley *Signal*, April 7, 1923; John Moffatt Mecklin, *The Ku*

In a heartfelt and strongly-worded December 1922 letter to his clergy and laity, Jeanmard showed concern over Klan members with which Catholics "had broken bread." Christian generosity, the Bishop suggested, should guide the clergy's actions, particularly with Klan members who had been misguided by unchristian principles and he strongly encouraged Catholics in his diocese to reconsider their allegiance to the Klan. The Lafayette B.C. Crow chapter of the Klan disbanded, printed a letter in the local paper, and returned its charter to Atlanta. The new bishop successfully mobilized citizens throughout the state (of all religious orders) to remove the renascent Klan from the state. Perhaps for the first time in history, the Louisiana Catholic Church worked with politicians and community members of different religious affiliations for the protection of Catholics in the state. That the Klan sought to harass and vilify Catholics as un-American, demonstrated the vulnerability of Catholics in the US. However, Jeanmard's tactics thrust Louisiana Creoles towards a closer relationship with Catholics throughout the nation. Although the Lafayette bishop scored some success in muting the Klan's presence, the prevalence of anti-Catholicism and the Anglo-Protestant population made anti-Catholicism much more visible to local Catholics who now encountered strident anti-Catholic voices in their own communities. The Creole hearths – where a once unified culture existed – faced not just a sea of economic changes, but now encountered a

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Klux Klan: A Study of the American Mind (1924; reprint ed., New York, 1963), 160; Mary Alice Fontenot and Kathleen Toups, *The Gentle Shepherd: A Memoir of Bishop Jules B. Jeanmard* (Rayne, La.: Hébert Publications, 1998), 2-8, 38; *Daily Advertiser*, March 28, 1923; *Weekly Iberian*, March 31, 1923; *Signal*, April 7, 1923. As referenced in "Tolerance and Bigotry," p. 165. Leading Lafayetters wrote a letter to the people of Lafayette and Lafayette Parish, undated, denouncing the Klan, its message, and actions, with 3 pages of signatures (some of which are duplicates). Found in ACDL, Gray Box 1, Racism Research, 4 pages. Roger Finke and Rodney Stark, *The Churching of America, 1776-2005: Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2005), 132.

real, meaningful, and visible challenge to one of the core shibboleths of Creole culture – the unity of the Roman church. [108]

3.2 The Lafayette diocese's response

State Catholic leaders at the Archdiocese of New Orleans viewed these changes gravely and attempted to address them by founding a new diocese in southwest Louisiana. In 1918, the Roman Catholic Church created the Diocese of Lafayette, ushering in direct attempts to slow the transformative affects of American culture on Latin south Louisiana and to prompt Catholic growth and exposure in the region. The Vatican agreed to the new diocese encompassing over 11,000 square miles between the Atchafalaya River to the east, and the Texas border to the west – roughly half of south Louisiana. At the moment when church leaders carved the diocese from the Archdiocese of New Orleans, the new ecclesiastical jurisdiction included 12 civil parishes and approximately 315,000 inhabitants. Of those residents, 158,715 professed faith in the Catholic Church. Moreover, the Lafayette diocese's 60-70,000 Catholics of color accounted for the largest number of Catholics of color in a single region in the United States. These statistics are important, because Catholics accounted for a slight majority of faith groups in the entire region. St. Landry and St. Martin Parishes in particular had especially large numbers of Catholics of color. The Catholic majority in southwest Louisiana, albeit slight, ensured that Creole values prevailed after World War I. Catholic

[108] Ibid.

growth for the new ecclesiastical district rested in the hands of the new bishop (Jules B. Jeanmard), who assumed his seat on 18 July 1918.[109]

Upon entering the new bishopric, Jeanmard bemoaned the attrition of Catholic communicants and worried about the gradual erosion of the church and the diocese's authority over Louisiana Catholics. He believed that many Catholics began dating members of other denominations, and that "mixed-marriages" (inter-denominational marriages) rose in the Lafayette diocese. According to Jeanmard and allied clergypersons, drifting from the Catholic Church occurred "at alarming rates." Jeanmard argued that mixed-marriages accounted for "the principal causes of leakage in the Church," and continued that this could only be remedied by imposing "a course of instructions" onto the non-Catholic spouse. "Dispensation for Mixed Marriage will not be granted unless the contracting parties consent to take a course of at least six instructions in Christian Doctrine," he pressed. Knowing that many parishioners would plead ignorance, he instructed clergymen to bring "this ruling to their attention repeatedly, especially during Lent," the season when most Catholics attended services. Mixed-marriages in themselves, however, posed only one part of the problem.[110]

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[109] Mileage calculation from *The Official Catholic Directory* (New York: 1920), 415. Civil parishes included in the Diocese of Lafayette provided on the Roman Catholic Diocese of Lafayette's website, http://www.diolaf.org/index.cfm?load=page&page=3 in addition to those civil parishes that later became the Roman Catholic Diocese of Lake Charles in 1980. For information on the Lake Charles Diocese, see http://live.lcdiocese.org/the-diocese/history.html . Total civil parishes in the new Diocese of Lafayette in 1918 were: Acadia, Allen, Beauregard, Calcasieu, Cameron, Iberia, Evangeline, Jefferson Davis, Lafayette, Saint Landry, Saint Martin and Saint Mary. Figures for those parishes come from the *1920 U.S. Census*. Population Schedules. (Washington, DC: US Census Bureau, 1920). For statistics on Catholics in the new diocese, see *United States Census of Religious Bodies* (Washington, DC: US Department of Commerce, 1916); *The Official Catholic Directory* (New York: P. J. Kennedy, 1920), pp. 415-17; and Gilliard, *Colored Catholics*, 16-17, 25.

[110] Jules B. Jeanmard to the clergy, 10 February 1937, PB 1, ACDL. Outside of Louisiana, Catholicism was mostly an urban religion. And there, too, there was attrition. Catholic leaders argue that urban leakage from the Catholic Church was a result of insufficient Catholic priests

As chapter one made clear, the Catholic Church tolerated mixed denominational/religious marriages under certain conditions. In a letter to the clergy, Jeanmard explained that "[S]hould the Protestant party show reluctance and objection to this rule, you may explain that no injustice is done him (her). Quite the contrary; it would be unfair and unreasonably to require him (her) to bind himself (herself) blindly to such serious obligations as the signed promises imply, without some knowledge of the ground on which they rest." Jeanmard's attention to religious instruction proved sound. In earlier times, Pope Gregory XVI considered that parties of mixed denominational marriages routinely strayed away from the church. "The Catholic party also realized that all offspring from such marriages be educated only in the sanctity of the Catholic religion. Such precautions are surely founded on divine law, against which, without any doubt, one seriously sins who rashly exposes himself or herself and future offspring to the danger of perversion," the Pontif declared in 1841. Catholic Church leaders in the early 20th century obeyed the pontifical observation and continued to impose the eighty-year-old regulation on mixed-marriages. Yet as Jeanmard soon realized, long standing opposition to mixed marriage simply proved unworkable in the context of 1920s Louisiana. The influx of Protestant migrants to the region and the decline in the total number of Creoles made the maintenance of a hard line problematic. Protestants, however, appeared to threaten Catholic social order on multiple levels. The fact that Baptists, and other Protestant denominations of growing number in the Lafayette diocese permitted divorce, alarmed Catholic wardens as they believed marriage undissoluble and that divorce undermined community cohesion. The instructional course for the non-Catholic party taught Catholic principles, chief among them the Church's

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and religious communities to meet the demand and the "impersonal character of the large city parish." See Ellis, *American Catholicism*, 126.

opposition to divorce. But the non-Catholic party also agreed to rear their offspring in the Catholic faith. The Church, then, tolerated mixed denominational marriages to the extent that the non-Catholic party bound himself or herself to Catholic rules.[111]

Jeanmard responded in multiple ways to the new challenge. The diocese first attempted to build a new wave of churches in territorial and racial parishes to foster greater Catholic worship. Diocesan officials staffed territorial parishes (original church-parishes staffed by diocesan officials), religious communities undertook missionary work among nonwhites in racial parishes (new church-parishes for people of color staffed by missionaries). J. Engberink of St. Landry Church in Opelousas, wrote to Katherine Drexel of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament (an order of Catholic nuns only serving First Nations and Black-racialized missions) to express being "overburdened with parish work by [himself], entrusted with the care of 8,000 souls, one church and 2 chapels." In May 1918, Julien Ravier Bollard of St. Mary Magdalen Church at Abbeville (Vermilion), requested a new church parish in Abbeville, and pled to the new bishop that "il m'est impossible de donner le soin et l'attention auxquels ils ont droit [...] Ceci serait, pour moi, un grand aide [et] un grand bien;" or that "it is impossible for me to give the care and attention to which [parishioners of color] have rights [...] This would be, for me, much help [and] a lot of good." A year later, in a letter addressed to Eugene Phelan in New York City, the provincial of North American Holy Ghost Fathers, Jeanmard

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[111] Although tolerated with a very careful eye, the Church ultimately discourages mixed denominational unions between Catholics and non-Catholics. See "Matrimonia Mixta," last modification unknown, http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/paul_vi/motu_proprio/documents/hf_p-vi_motu-proprio_19700331_matrimonia-mixta_en.html. On the insistence of the offspring being reared in the sanctity of the Catholic religion, see for instance, "Quas Vestro," by Pope Gregory XVI. The entire 8 part instructional, dated 30 April 1841, can be viewed here: http://www.catholicculture.org/culture/library/view.cfm?recnum=3883. Letter from Jules B. Jeanmard to the clergy, 10 February 1937, Pastoral Book 1, ACDL; Robert C. Walton, *Charts of Church History* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing Co., 1986), 41.

requested a new parish church in Lake Charles and Opelousas, stating that "[t]hrough force of circumstances, [the Catholics of those cities] have been neglected [...] and are in grave danger of drifting away." Plainly put, "[q]uite an alarming number have gone over to [other denominations]" the bishop pressed. In the first ten years of his tenure, Jeanmard's new diocese established 17 new Catholic churches across the region. Seven of those new churches specifically catered to nonwhite Catholics. In fact, under the Lafayette bishop's leadership, new Catholic church growth from the late 1910s through 1927 advanced at a pace unmatched for any other decade in southwest Louisiana Catholic history. The new parishes faced mixed success however. Part of the problem lay in the availability of Francophone priests to staff the new churches; the diffuse population and availability of funds; and finally in Baptist and Methodist churches who appeared very adept – and perhaps better equipped – to make inroads among rural peoples of color, of all denominations.[112]

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[112] On expanding the number of churches and missions in the diocese, see Jules B. Jeanmard to Clergypersons, 10 Feb 1937, PB 2, ACDL. The bishop notes on page 2 that "Ça a été notre intention depuis le commencement de multiplier les paroisses et les centres de missions afin de mieux pourvoir aux besoins spirituels de notre population catholique si nombreuse." Trans: It has been our intention from the beginning to expand parish churches and missions in order to better cater to the spiritual needs of our very large Catholic population. Territorial parishes refer to original, diocesan-staffed/established Catholic churches in Louisiana. J. Engberink to Katharine Drexel, 12 March 1914, ACDL; J. R. Bollard to Jules B. Jeanmard, 29 May 1918, ibid.; Jeanmard to Eugene Phelan, Provincial of the Holy Ghost Fathers, 6 June 1919, ibid. The 17 new churches were St. Edward (New Iberia, 1918), Sacred Heart of Jesus (Lake Charles, 1918), Our Lady of Prompt Succor (Sulphur, 1919), St. Joseph (Vinton, 1920), Holy Ghost (Opelousas, 1920), St. Theresa of Avila (Crowley, 1920), St. Bridget (Lawtell, 1920), St. Joan of Arc (Oberlin, 1920), St. Augustine (Basile, 1921), Our Lady of La Salette (DeQuincy, 1922), Our Lady of Perpetual Help (Leroy, 1922), Our Lady of the Lake (Lake Arthur, 1922), St. Francis of Assisi (Breaux Bridge, 1923), Our Mother of Mercy (Rayne, 1924), St. Peter (Pine Prairie, 1924), St. John Berchmans (Cankton, 1925), and Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Carencro, 1926). Between 1890 and 1900, Catholics established thirteen new churches across southwest Louisiana (due to exponential growth of Baptist and Methodist congregations - see appendix G). The region saw no more than 5 churches erected in the decades before 1890-1900 and 1900-1910. Official establishment years and church names from "Parish Reports" in the ACDL for each individual parish, as well as on the Diocese of Lafayette, Louisiana's website, web address http://diolaf.org/index.cfm?load=page&page=3 .

These challenges led Jeanmard to pursue national and international Catholic orders and the introduction of national Catholic lay organizations. The Catholic Board for Mission Work Among the Colored People (more commonly known as the Mission Board), Sisters of the Holy Family (SSF) and Drexel's Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament (SBS) undertook missionary work in the Lafayette diocese. In a pastoral letter to clergypersons in the diocese in 1919, only months after he became bishop, Jeanmard noted that: "It is important that the diocese of Lafayette should make a good showing with this first collection for the worthy cause. [T]he Mission Board, in its future allocations to the new diocese of Lafayette, will measure to our interest in the cause by the size of the amount that will be contributed in this first collection." Between 1919 and 1927, the Mission Board "contributed $42,000 for the construction and maintenance of churches [...] for the colored," despite annual Lent collections in southwest Louisiana churches hovering at "barely $6,000; eight times less than the diocese actually received." Katharine Drexel, foundress of the SBS, equally financed many new schools and churches in the diocese. Less than a year after Jeanmard's ascension to the episcopacy, Drexel wrote to the new prelate in October 1919 "to ask Your Lordship for written approval of the foundation of St. Edward's, New Iberia," his diocese's first church parish founded specifically for nonwhite Catholics. In fact, the SBS leader donated money to five of the nine churches founded for nonwhites in the Lafayette diocese between 1910 and 1926. Disenfranchisement and poverty compelled Creoles to accept the funder's terms in establishing these new places of worship. The most important caveat lay in race. The Mission Board and SBS only catered to the evangelization and growth of nonwhite Catholics. Such policies would have had limited effect in many bi-racial and segregated communities. But in southwest Louisiana, Drexel's organization – and others like it – cut

through racially integrated church practice. In fact, the SBS and similar organizations drew a color line through multicolored Creole communities, contributing to the erosion of Creole community cohesion.[113]

Racially-segregated national Catholic lay organizations emerged in the 1920s to foster further Catholic fellowship and worship. In these shared spaces, Creoles cohered with non-Creole Catholics around a national Catholic identity which included segregationist thought and practice. The white-only Knights of Columbus (KOC), for instance, existed in south Louisiana for a number of years before Jeanmard's elevation to the episcopacy. The St. Martinville white Catholic men chartered KOC Council #1276 in 1911. On that occasion, Council #1276 purchased property for the organization "as a general meeting place for sociables among the members of the orders." In 1914, in Lafayette, Peter W. Collins of Chelsea, Massachusetts, under the auspices of the local KOC, gave a lecture on socialism in a jam-packed all-white auditorium in New Orleans. The *Times-Democrat* noted that "[T]he auditorium was crowded. Bombarded from all points of the house." In New Orleans or at Opelousas, KOC initiation ceremonies brought Catholics from other states into Creole communities, and engaged them on

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[113] Jules B. Jeanmard to the clergy, 27 February 1919, PB 1, ACDL. The collection for the Mission Board appears on each Catholic church's "Parish Report" record, which can be viewed in the ACDL. Jules B. Jeanmard to the clergy, 6 October 1927, PB 2, ACDL. Katharine Drexel to Jules B. Jeanmard, 16 October 1919, Miscellaneous Letters, ACDL. Drexel funded the construction of the following churches: St. Paul (Lafayette), St. Edward (New Iberia), Sacred Heart (Lake Charles), Holy Ghost (Opelousas), and Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Carencro). For information on the founding of those parishes, see Katharine Drexel to Jules B. Jeanmard, 14 December 1920, ACDL; James A. Hyland to Jules B. Benjamin, 28 December 1920, ibid.; Roger Baudier, *The Catholic Church in Louisiana* (New Orleans: s.n., 1939), 539-40; John T. Gillard, *The Catholic Church and the American Negro* (Baltimore: St. Joseph's Society Press, 1929), 150-1. Racial parish construction had already begun in New Orleans in 1895 with the founding of St. Katharine. A second racial parish, St. Dominic, materialized in 1909. Katharine Drexel provided a gift of $5,000 for both churches and schools. See Bennett, *Religion,* 193-4, 200.

equal terms. Following World War I, however, KOC prominence throughout the nation expanded rapidly.[114]

As a national organization of 300,000 members, the KOC operated as a mutual aid society and launched and participated in educational, religious and patriotic projects, strengthening a sense of national Catholic identity and citizenship. In late summer 1919, the KOC organized a national education campaign. The campaign proposed a "[S]ystem of night schools [that would] extend from the Atlantic to the Pacific." The curriculum's purpose sought to "teach practical citizenship and to give young men executive, technical, or cultural training that would make their citizenship more effective." In September 1919, the St. Martin *Weekly Messenger* headlined: "Four Orders to Unite In Labor Work for the South." Those orders included the Salvation Order, KOC, American Red Cross Society, and Community Service Incorporated. In response to the Klan's anti-Catholic stance in the early 1920s, the KOC took deliberate measures to give increased visibility and respectability to Catholic doctrine. In the KOC's eyes, Catholicism was as American as any other religious form. "I swear to support the constitution of the United States. I pledge myself as a citizen and a KOC to enlighten myself fully upon my duties as a citizen and to conscientiously perform such duties entirely in the interest of my country," read the opening lines of the KOC oath of knighthood. The KOC consciously sought to prove the Americanness of Catholics and placed importance on civic engagement and education.[115]

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[114] *Weekly Messenger*, 8 April 1911, p. 4; *Lafayette Advertiser*, 10 March 1914, p .4; *St. Landry Clarion*, 16 February 1918, p. 8. See also Bennett, *Religion*, 193-228.

[115] James M. O'Toole, *The Faithful: A History of Catholics in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 156; *The Weekly Messenger*, 30 August 1919, p. 1; ibid., 20 September 1919, p. 2.

By 1920, Catholics of color on the Gulf Coast equally sought to create an organization to promote national unity and protection; an organization or religious sodality which would eventually reach Creole parishes of southwest Louisiana. Growing out of a meeting at a Mobile Catholic church, four Josephite priests and three Catholic of color laymen created the Knights of Peter Claver (KPC) and modeled it almost entirely on the white-only KOC. The *Nashville Globe* reported that the purpose of the KPC "is purely charitable." Additionally, the paper pointed out, "they pay sick and death benefits." By 1922, the KPC had made inroads in Louisiana. That year Joseph B. Alberts, S.S.J., who later became the first resident pastor of St. Francis of Assisi, a parish for nonwhites at Breaux Bridge (St. Martin), celebrated a mass in New Orleans for the initiation of 100 KPC knights. Mutual aid provisions and Catholic social life offered Catholics of color a sense of belonging to a larger fraternal organization. Like other fraternal orders which provided death benefits and insurance policies, the KPC appealed to aspiring black-racialized farmers and small business leaders who found in these all-male lodges, fraternity and mutual respect.[116]

Only two years after Jeanmard's ascension, Catholics of color in the new diocese requested the founding of local councils of the KPC. Initially at least, Jeanmard felt it too soon for the organization: "Upon serious reflection, I have come to the conclusion that it would not be advisable to undertake the organization of Councils of Knights of Peter Claver in Parishes where there do not exist Churches exclusively for the Colored People."

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[116] "The Catholic Church and the Negro," *The Kansas City Sun*, 28 February 1920, p. 1; Wardell J. Payne, Larry G. Murphy, J. Gordon Melton, and Gary L. Ward, eds., *Directory of African American Religious Bodies: A Compendium by the Howard University School of Divinity* (Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 1991), 363, in *Encyclopedia of African American Religions* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 435; "The Knights of Peter Claver," *Nashville Globe*, 24 February 1911, p. 6; O'Toole, *The Faithful*, 157; "Peter Claver Knights Install Large Class," *The Herald*, 2 February 1922, p. 1.

Jeanmard felt that the diocese did not yet dispose of enough racial parishes, and that in the territorial parishes, resident pastors would neglect the organization and its members. "Without active interest on the part of the Pastor, a Council cannot long survive[,]" the bishop lamented. Nevertheless, between 1920 and 1926, Catholics of color established 10 KPC councils in the Lafayette Diocese with large numbers of knighted members. By 1926, for instance, the St. Paul Council #11 in Lafayette boasted of 153 members while Father John Council #8 in Opelousas included 185 men. The bishop's initial concern, however, diminished as Jeanmard established the many racial parishes throughout the diocese. Now, Catholics of color, like their whitened brethren, joined American Catholics in the development of a national Catholic consciousness, with branches across the nation and in the heart of Creole Louisiana.[117]

Importantly, these new Catholic bodies responded to national and international leaders, not to local Louisiana Creoles. The SBS established headquarters at St. Elizabeth's Convent in Cornwells Heights, Pennsylvania, and Archbishop James O'Connor of Omaha, Nebraska, served as the order's spiritual director in its early decades. The SBS devoted mission work among the various peoples of color nationwide, including First Nations in the western United States. The Fathers of the Holy Ghost

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[117] Jules B. Jeanmard to Joe Boudreaux, 3 August 1920, ACDL; "Parish report 1926," Holy Ghost Parish, (Opelousas, La.), ACDL. Father Robescher visited Opelousas in 1914 and on that occasion already discussed with Engberink establishing an Opelousas council of the KPC. See J. Engberink to Rev. Mother James, 12 March 1914, ACDL. The 10 councils formed between 1920 and 1926 were: Sacred Heart Council #31 (Lake Charles) in 1920, Mèche Council #34 (Grand Côteau) in 1921, St. Francis Regis Council #38 (Arnaudville) in 1923, St. Anne Council #39 (Mallet) in 1923, Father Pierre Council #40 (Lawtell) in 1923, Ledé Council #42 (Church Point) in 1924, Father Charles Council #46 (Léonville) in 1924, Father Baudizonne Council #48 (Welsh, La.) in 1926, St. Francis of Assisi Council #49 (Breaux Bridge, La.) in 1926, St. Theresa Council #51 (Crowley, La.) in 1926. See Jari C. Honora, “Forged in Faith and Fraternity: The History of the Knights of Peter Claver” (Unpublished manuscript, 2014), unpaginated; Honora, National Historian, Knights of Peter Claver, "Knights of Peter Claver Councils in interwar Louisiana," e-mail message to Christophe Landry, 20 November 2014.

(Spiritans, or CSSp), a congregation of Catholic priests and lay brothers, who staffed most of the new Diocese of Lafayette's racial parishes, derived from Rome, Italy. All Catholic clerics associated with the CSSp and based in the United States, however, answered to the community's provincial in New York City. As national and international Catholic orders and organizations, staffers first and foremost identified as Catholics who communicated in English, and expressed little commitment to Creole culture.[118]

Jeanmard's well-meant attempts to introduce Catholic organizations did not fail. But for Creoles, Jeanmard's policies introduced Anglophone priests and organizations among Francophone and Creolophone communities, and also introduced agents whose goals and allegiance remained in the national Catholic Church rather than in local Creole traditions. The nationalization of Creole Catholic spaces in the Lafayette diocese moreover challenged Jeanmard's ability to halt the attrition of Creole communicants through church building throughout the diocese. To be fair, Jeanmard's attention lay with the Church more than the cultural needs of Creoles to rank ethnic unity. But his program of activity inevitably transmuted multicolored religious spaces. The Lafayette bishop furthermore struggled to temper the appeal of Protestant evangelicals and simply could not get Francophone priests. The new fraternal orders and evangelical Catholic organizations further complicated the picture by reinforcing Catholicism, but a national Anglo-American brand of it. Education posed an additional challenge to Jeanmard's program.

3.3 Educating a Changing World

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[118] Gilliard, *The Catholic Church*, 125; Cyprian Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States* (New York: Crossroad Publications, 1990), 135; Eugene Phelan to Jules Jeanmard, 28 September 1918, ACDL; "Ecclesiastical Times," *The Sacred Heart Review* 44, no. 12 (Sept., 1910): 2.

State and religious leaders attempted in diverse ways to educate through state and parochial instruction. But after 1921, parochial and secular institutions offered English-only, racially-segregated curricula defined by systemic inequality. As Adam Fairclough observed, the black-racialized staff, parents and student body staffing nonwhite public schools relied on the mercy of white-racialized School Board officials for any concessions possible. The monies school systems accumulated from public taxes disproportionately benefitted white-only public schools. At St. Martinville, in 1917, the local school board awarded its whitened teachers $9,460.41 in salary, and $512.31 to its nonwhite teachers. Later that year, significant salary differences remained. The board paid $724.67 in salary to white teachers, and $40.00 to nonwhite teachers. Whereas Esther Goldberg (white) earned a salary of $60.00 in 1917 at the Perret School (Iberia Parish), Oneida Sigue (Creole of color) earned $20.00 at the Camelia Colored School in Patoutville (Iberia Parish). Beyond pay, additional hurdles remained.[119]

Not only did public school salaries and funding differ in white and nonwhite schools, but so did structural questions, such as school term, room and board for staff, and resources. A 20 May 1916 column in the *Weekly Messenger* informed its readers that:

> The school for the colored people here being short, only three months this year, the colored people, through their Prof. H. P. Sandle and Ren[é] Fran[ç]ois, secured subscription to continue the term, and as an encouragement, the School Board has granted them one month more, which will make their school term five month[s] instead of three.

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[119] *Weekly Messenger*, 28 April 1917, p. 2; ibid., 20 October 1917, p. 2. Disproportionate funding differences between white and nonwhite schools were common throughout the United States during the Jim Crow years and are well-researched, and an exhaustive list of those publications is impossible here. But see, for instance, Fairclough, *A Class of their own*, 3; ibid., *Teaching Equality*, 11-12, 58; Bennett, *Religion*, 103; Rittenhouse, *Growing Up Jim Crow*, 214; Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, 208; Neil R. McMillen, *Dark Journey: Black Mississippians in the Age of Jim Crow* (Champaign-Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 70-90. *New Iberia Enterprise and Independent Observer*, 14 July 1917, p. 8.

The St. Martin Parish School Board had set the learning months for the nonwhite public school at three months, likely between harvest and planting season of sugar cane. Additionally, the board provided the school with a $1.90 donation to extend the teaching schedule by one month. In 1919, the only teacher at the St. Martinville public school for nonwhites, who the board had just hired, abandoned the school before the term even began.

> We learn that the School Board had planed to open the colored school in St. Martinville this week and had a teacher to [*sic*] come here, but the teacher could not find a place to board, and had to return home.

Both the principles in the school, as well as its staff, came from out of town. The school did not reopen again until Monday, 21 September 1919, with a new principal: a minister named A. Robinson. Two years passed before the St. Martin Parish School Board made a motion to extend the school term in nonwhite public schools to match that of whites, on 4 September 1919. These unstable beginnings for public schooling in St. Martin Parish left an enduring mark on public schooling as underfunded and fundamentally unstable. Nonwhite public schools provided an abysmal educational start for Louisianians of color. Racially segregating state statutes from the late 19th century, however, forced many Creoles to attend these poorly-funded public schools. [120]

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[120] *Weekly Messenger*, "Colored School Term Extended," 20 May 1916, p. 1. Notice, in particular, donation from the Masons (officially banned by the Catholic Church and thus a Protestant organization), the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Protestant St. John Benevolent Association, but an absence of the Catholic mutual aide and benevolent associations, *Les Dames du Progrès* and *La Société des Francs Amis* (True Friends Association). The local Catholic church, St. Martin Church, also offered no concessions. *Weekly Messenger*, 25 January 1919, p. 2; ibid., 13 September 1919, p. 2. The principal, H.P. Sandle, and his assistant (for a short term), Mrs. F.E. Burr, were both college graduates, according to the *Weekly Messenger*'s 8 December 1917 column. "Motion of Mr. St. Germain and seconded by Mr. Délord and carried, the Negro schools of the Parish were ordered to be opened on Sept. 8th, for the same term as the white schools." *Weekly Messenger*, 13 September 1919, p. 2. "Report of the Spelling Test," *New Iberia Enterprise and Independent Observer*, 12 May 1917, p. 3.

Funding differences in the public schools determined levels of education and subjects taught, with significant differences between those for whites and nonwhites. In 1910, the New Iberia High School offered courses to its all-white students in Art, Music, Mathematics, Science, French, English, Latin, History, and Civics. And, at the public elementary schools for whites, the parish school board hired one teacher per grade. Conversely, school board officials employed only one (nonwhite) teacher for each of the nonwhite public schools. No secondary school operated that year for Iberians of color. Seven years later, in 1917, the Iberia Parish School Board introduced more subjects in white public schools, to include Commercial and Domestic Science at the New Iberia High School. The parish's nonwhite public schools continued to serve only grades one through five, with only one teacher assigned to each of the nonwhite public schools. With the state educational system in relative tatters, and with instruction in English mandated by Louisiana's board of education, some Creoles inevitably turned their backs on these racially-segregated Anglo-centric schools and enrolled their children in Catholic parochial institutions.[121]

Local Catholic leaders had long supported parochial education, and Jeanmard understood the need to provide parochial schools. The new bishop reacted to the demand for secular schools throughout his diocese by launching a parochial school-building crusade. But first he needed to begin from scratch. In 1918, when the Diocese of Lafayette emerged, only four parochial schools existed for nonwhites. The Sisters of Perpetual Adoration had operated a school for nonwhite Catholics in Breaux Bridge since the 1890s. And, at St. Martinville, the Sisters of Mercy provided a convent and

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[121] "Teachers Selected," *New Iberia Enterprise and Independent Observer*, 2 July 1910, p. 2; "Teachers for 1917-18 Session," ibid., 14 July 1917, p. 8.

grade school for boys and girls of color. The SSF took charge of two schools in the city of Lafayette: Holy Rosary Institute for boys and girls, which opened in 1911; and St. Joseph School, later named St. Paul School, which opened in 1903. These four Catholic schools served the entire region's Catholics of color until 1918; inevitably they failed to meet the demand, so Catholics of color attended to the more numerous public and private non-Catholic schools for children of color.[122]

Once again Jeanmard faced a number of challenges, such as population density, funds, and competition from Baptist parochial education facilities. He reacted in horror that "[t]here are many children going to a preacher's school because they live close to them and these men charge only from 25¢ to 30¢ a month." "The loss of faith consequent upon these conditions is, of course, very great and I feel duty bound to establish a free school [in Lafayette] for these children," he reassured. In the absence of Catholic schools, churches and chapels for nonwhites, conversion increased with many Creoles joining Baptist and Methodist associations. "Think Dear Mother, in the past several years, the number of colored Catholics that left our church [Lafayette] can be counted by the hundreds," Leonard Lang, C.S.Sp. expressed to Katherine Drexel.[123]

Competition between parochial schools and private Baptist schools intensified in the 1920s. The Baptist Howe Institute in New Iberia, considered a flagship education institution by Baptists, offered sleeping quarters for students who came from outside of

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[122] The Sisters of Mercy opened St. Joseph School for nonwhites at St. Martinville in 1881. "History," http://trinitycatholicschoolla.org/PageDisplay.asp?p1=5127. Website accessed 14 May 2013. And the Sisters of Perpetual Adoration opened St. Bernard School in 1891 at Breaux Bridge. "About us," http://www.sbscrusaders.com/index.cfm?load=page&page=152. Website access 14 May 2013. The Religious of the Sacred Heart at Grand Côteau apparently opened a school for nonwhites in 1875. See Butler, "A History," 52.

[123] Jules B. Jeanmard to Mother Elizabeth, Superior of Holy Family Convent, 3 August 1911, ACDL; Leonard Lang to Katharine Drexel, 14 November 1910, ACDL.

the immediate vicinity. School busses transported children to the institute and in time Howe provided training for most of the nonwhite educators in southwest Louisiana. Catholic racial parishes typically catered to large territories and, as a result, could not accommodate children in the outlying areas. Pastors at St. Edward desperately pursued solutions. "I am still of the opinion that the busses would be a great thing for New Iberia," John C. McGlade, C.S.Sp., proposed to Katherine Drexel. "[N]ot only to build up our school, bring the country children to church on Sundays, but also to educate the country children beyond the fifth grade," he continued. Moreover, McGlade assured Drexel that her contributions concerning the Baptist institution "[w]ould also be a great help towards removing the Howe, which is a Baptist institution, from out midst." The Howe Institute closed its doors several years later. Local schools, however, struggled to secure enough Louisiana-based and foreign Francophones to staff the institutions.[124]

Once again, the Lafayette diocese needed to turn to national and regional Catholic organizations to support the local schools with money and teachers. Drexel and the Commissions already supported nonwhite Catholic church construction financially in the Lafayette diocese, but parochial Catholic schools remained rare. Catholic leaders in south Louisiana found a solution to the lack of parochial schools by seeking funding from the same benefactors who provided funding for the construction of the new parishes. As early as 1914, southwest Louisiana pastors requested funding from the SBS. "The Rev. Fr. Robescher [...] urged me to write to Mother Katherine for help and at the same time to yourself to assist me to get help," Father Engberink, pastor of St. Landry Church in Opelousas, wrote to Mother James, Superior of the SBS. Francis Xavier Lichtenberger, C.S.Sp., pastor of St. Edward Church in New Iberia, requested funds from the Catholic

[124] John C. McGlade to Katharine Drexel, 24 May 1930, ACDL. Baptists also built schools throughout south Louisiana. See Ancalade, "Then There Was Us," 35-36.

Church Extension Society, which the society refused on the grounds that another Catholic organization already supported St. Edward's. The SBS funded both the church and school's construction a year earlier, and sent three SBS nuns to open the school. In 1921, Our Colored Missions, another Catholic organization, paid for the construction of a new school and teacher salaries at St. Theresa Parish in Crowley. Two years later, in 1923, Katherine Drexel donated a large sum to Sacred Heart Parish school in Lake Charles. "Let me thank you sincerely for your generosity to the Lake Charles Mission," the bishop opened. By 1920, Jeanmard's new diocese had 11 parochial schools for nonwhites, with over 1,500 children enrolled. It also had two industrial schools educating 145 black-racialized men, both sponsored by the SBS. Staff for the new parochial Catholic schools, as in the new racial parishes, remained a challenge for the Lafayette diocese.[125]

Once more, Jeanmard depended on nationally-based Anglophone Catholic teachers and administrators, which further nationalized and Anglicized the Lafayette diocese. English-speaking Spiritan (CSSp) and Josephite priests served as founding staff at six of the seven racial parishes; Our Mother of Mercy in Rayne (Acadia) was the only exception. Because the new staff spoke English, the master sacramental registers in all seven churches began – and remained – in English. Additionally, many new territorial parishes avoided abrupt shifts to English-language congregations, since Francophone priests already in territorial parishes elsewhere staffed half of the new territorial parishes. Despite introducing Francophone priests, English penetrated the predominantly

[125] J. Engberink to Rev. Mother James, 12 March 1914, ACDL; *Official Catholic Directory 1920*, p 417; Jules B. Jeanmard to Katharine Drexel, 24 May 1923, ACDL; Vice-President and General Secretary of the Catholic Church Extension Society to Francis Xavier Lichtenberger, 26 February 1919, ibid.; Butler, "A History," 90-93; Conrad, *New Iberia*, 402-04; Gillard, *The Catholic Church*, 150-1.

Francophone church, with English emerging as the language of ecclesiastical record keeping in those parishes. When Joseph B. Alberts, S.S.J., a Josephite from Brooklyn, founded St. Francis of Assisi Church for nonwhites in Breaux Bridge in 1923, he lamented that young parishioners "[could not] speak a word of English. Their parents are all Creole speaking people." Alberts contracted the Anglophone SSF to provide education, nearly tripling the number of Breaux Bridge Creoles of color enrolled in Catholic parochial education in English between 1921 and the end of 1926. By 1927, however, Assisi parishioners not only understood English, but could also speak, read and write it.[126]

Conclusion

Local schools, both parochial and secular, increasingly rested on a nationally and regionally defined curriculum, language, and racial norms. Jeanmard and his able Catholic leaders (local and national) faced a considerable challenge from local Protestant churches, especially Baptists who made headway throughout the Creole region. The story of education in southwest Louisiana closely paralleled the church expansion agenda where national and regional organizations and communities introduced Anglo-centric priests and teachers. These changes standardized religious and educational institutions

[126] Jules B. Jeanmard to the clergy, 6 October 1927, ACDL, PB 2. Our Mother of Mercy had 2 founding priests, R.A. Auclair and E.J. Walsh. Auclair was from France. For more on founding priests and religious communities in the new diocese, see Baudier, *The Catholic Church in Louisiana*, 538-40. Information on the language of the master sacramental registers in the churches as well as the birthplace of the priests serving the new parishes, can be found in Leumas, "Mais, I Sin in French," 143-45, 177-87. George Hanks, "A coal-cracker in Louisiana," *Colored Harvest* 19, no. 3, (Mar., 1931): 8, as found in Glenn Chambers, " 'Goodbye God, I'm Going to Texas': The Migration of Louisiana Creoles of Colour and the Preservation of Black Catholic and Creole Traditions in Southeast Texas," *Journal of Religion and Popular Culture* 26, no. 1, (Spring, 2014): 130.

around national norms in the Creole community. Local leaders – and no doubt parents, children, and teachers – drew out and contested this process. But the long-term effect undermined two core aspects of the Creole community: its Catholic religious faith and its ability to determine education and language. The changes to the economy and society of the 1920s additionally had major implications for Catholic Creole unity. The rise of English language in public and parochial spaces, the expansion of English-language Protestant denominations, and English-speaking Catholic missionaries enfeebled the religious and cultural coherence of Louisiana Creole culture and traditions. Although the Lafayette bishop took steps to counter attrition levels in his diocese and to foster greater Catholic identity, the tactics adopted ultimately accelerated the process of nationalizing or Americanizing Louisiana Creole Catholicism and the Creole community. These combined processes gradually eroded still further the coherence of Louisiana's Creole communities. This chapter has underscored various fundamental religious and cultural transitions to the region and outlined the ways that the local Catholic church and Creole communities responded. But the shift toward national identification – over local identity – advanced apace by the eve of the Great Depression.

Chapter Four: The Flood of 1927 and the Great Depression

Introduction

Chapters two and three delineated the many challenges Creoles faced as their communities eroded during and after World War I. The cane sugar industry, which had been central to the sustenance of vibrant Creolophone and Francophone communities, collapsed in the postwar years. Challenging climatic conditions, crop diseases, removal of government price controls, the duty-free import of cheaper and higher quality sugars, expensive technologies, the introduction of costly crop improvement programs all contributed to the decline of Louisiana's longstanding sugar plantation system. Moreover, increasingly mechanized cultivation equipment rendered much of the gang and manual labor in the old plantation complex, redundant. These changes impoverished small cane growers and they abandoned the 130-year-old industry for employment outside of Louisiana and in new trades and industries within their own communities, many of which required English proficiency. The new oil and heritage-based tourism industries, highways, motion pictures and state-mandated education, reinforced English language, a culture of racial segregation, and greater integration of Creole communities into the broader nation-state. When World War I and federal legislation restricted the entry of Francophones (including Francophone priests) from Europe to the United States, Creoles watched their Francophone Catholic Church transform into a racially-segregated, English-language American Church. Southwest Louisiana's Creole hearth increasingly reflected the mores of the Anglophone South rather than the Latin world.

This chapter's purpose is to examine the impact of the flood of 1927 and Great Depression on southwest Louisiana's Creole communities' languages, identities, economies, and population demographics. It shows how these two major events (and the

Creoles' reaction to it) further diminished Creole cultural insularity, splintered its people along American racial binary lines, and led to a more robust Acadian movement. In turn, these processes distanced whitened Creoles from their black-racialized relatives and community members.

4.1 Flood of 1927

One of the greatest natural disasters in the history of the United States began in summer 1926. Excessive rains swelled the Mississippi River and its tributaries from Kansas to Tennessee by December when the Cumberland River (traversing Nashville) exceeded 56.2 feet (16 feet over flood stage). By spring 1927, people in seven states from Missouri to southern Louisiana helplessly watched water swallow 16.5 million acres of land, leaving 600,000 refugees in those states (of which 20,000 were from Iberia and St. Martin Parishes). Flood damage incurred nearly $1 billion in economic losses. The river and its tributaries inundated over 160,000 homes and completely destroyed over 40,000 buildings along the Mississippi. As a result of the flood waters, many residents of Arkansas, Missouri, and other states, abandoned their home states in pursuit of better living conditions and employment in northern industrial cities (in the north and west). These central Mississippi River states and their inhabitants suffered great losses, but southwest Louisiana's destitution exceeded those elsewhere on the Mississippi, as the flood and its aftermath further transformed Creole communities, altering their linguistic, social, and economic makeup.[127]

[127] David Evans, "Bessie Smith's 'Backwater-Blues'," *Popular Music* 26, no. 1 (2007): 97; Conrad, *New Iberia*, 358.

The flood impacted southwest Louisiana's Creole communities in significant ways. It accelerated the process of national integration, as national agencies poured into waterlogged southwest Louisiana offering postdiluvian relief through the medium of English. As waters inundated entire towns, many Creoles fled to higher grounds west of Lafayette Parish, and as far west as southeast Texas. Water damage decimated the cane crop while the state-organized aid relief imposed segregation in refugee camps along the western edge of the affected area. These changes further transformed Creole culture and identity. By the early 1930s, whatever cultural parochialism that remained between Americans and Creoles faded as Creoles learned English and participated in Anglophone Depression-era national culture. The in-migration of national and state entities like the Red Cross, the Louisiana National Guard, and United States Army, altered the distribution of population and further exposed Creoles to formalized racial segregation and the dominion of English as a means to negotiate with administrators.

In Spring 1927, the flood situation which had vexed the upper South, became a truly national catastrophe when flood barriers and levée systems along the Atchafalaya River Basin in southwest Louisiana collapsed. For nearly a month, flood waters submerged much of the sugar cultivating zones in St. Martin and Iberia Parishes and prompted the mass evacuation of thousands of residents to higher grounds in Lafayette, Opelousas, Lake Charles and southeast Texas.[128]

Early in the flood, local farmers and field workers came into close contact with national, regional and local institutions, all of whom began studying the rising water. In

[128] The Mississippi River submerged communities along its path from north to south and displaced thousands of residents in Missouri, Arkansas, Mississippi, also. See "Walls Are Crumbling Under Pressure," *The News-Herald*, 18 April 1927, p. 1; "500 Flood Refugees Saved After Days on Narrow Dyke," *The Pantagraph*, 25 April 1927, p. 1.

April 1927, for instance, local police juries (county-level councils) assembled able-bodied men in Iberia and Lafayette parishes to closely observe river level changes to determine water levels along the Atchafalaya and Mississippi Rivers. After a Lafayette Parish Red Cross meeting on 27 April, E.E. Soulier recruited men to head to New Roads (Pointe Coupée Parish). Among them were Captains Wilfred Moss and Leo Davis, and Lieutenant Harry J. Stahl, of Lafayette Company B of the Louisiana National Guard, who commanded a group of 66 men who traveled to New Roads. The National Guardsmen were joined by other regional agencies who dispatched able-bodied men to assist in the crisis. On 28 April, for instance, the Stanley H. Martin Post of the local American Legion (Lafayette Parish) announced its readiness to assist. And by mid-May, Lafayette City and Parish produced over 1,000 to labor in the reinforcement of levées with some earning a salary of $2 dollars per day. Even Iberia Parish, whose low land levels placed it under considerable danger, particularly on the east bank of the Teche, sent a committee of town and parish leaders to inspect and study water levels in neighboring Iberville Parish. The migration of workers was a local Creole response to the challenging flood conditions but it inevitably brought Anglophone workers and relief agencies to the heart of the Creole cultural hearth. Already weakened by out-migration, the arrival of English-speaking engineers, delvers, and National Guardsmen chipped away at the insularity of the region's Creole population. Hunger, desperation, and poverty of course drove many Creoles to welcome the newcomers.[129]

Without their knowledge, as laborers worked day-and-night to strengthen the major levée systems along the Mississippi, they weakened smaller, weaker levées west of

[129] New Iberia's committee consisted of Police Jury President Clet Girard, Mayor Ed. Lasalle of New Iberia, P.A. Landry, Fred Patout, Émile Vuillemont, and Marcus de Blanc. *New Iberia Enterprise and Independent Observer*, 23 April 1927, in Conrad, *New Iberia*, 356.

the Atchafalaya River Basin in Teche Country. On 2 May, the temporary earthworks gave way and the Mississippi levée at Vidalia (Concordia Parish) broke. The following week, on 12 May, the levée at Bayou des Glaises (which feeds into the Atchafalaya River basin) crumbled (see Image 6). Less than a week after the Vidalia and Bayou des Glaises breaks, levées at Cecilia and Henderson (on the 16th) and Melville (on the 17th) gave way. The levée collapse at Cecilia and Henderson (both in St. Martin Parish) placed residents of St. Martin and Iberia Parishes in particular danger, as water levels on Bayou Teche – which traverses both towns – surged after the levée break (see Image 7). When a 300 foot section of the Henderson levée burst, few residents doubted the deluge's certainty. Louisiana Flood Director, former Governor John Parker, predicted that waters would overflow ⅔ of St. Martin Parish, ⅓ of St. Landry, and much of Iberia and St. Mary Parishes. On May 17th, town leaders on lands west of Bayou Teche established camps for the impending surge of displaced residents in St. Martin and southeastern St. Landry Parishes. As flood waters spread over the board-flat landscape, evacuees jammed into the Opelousas camps and by the middle of the month, the scarcity of food and clothing already posed a problem. Local women who volunteered in the refugee camps even returned home to make sandwiches and coffee as camp kitchen quarters proved inadequate to supply the swelling numbers.[130]

By May, the flood conditions in south Louisiana proved so serious that national authorities and organizations swarmed to the region to assist. Secretary of State Herbert Hoover delivered an evacuation warning to the residents of St. Martinville and the surrounding area on 21 May, before torrents of river water flooded into "the heart of

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[130] *New Iberia Enterprise*, 21 May 1927; Griffin, *The Attakapas Country*, 156; Conrad, *New Iberia*, 359; "Flood Force Evacuation of More Villages," *The Kane Republican*, 19 May 1927, p. 4.

Acadian Country," Hoover declared. A directive from Washington, D.C. dispatched the American Red Cross to cater to distressed Bayou Teche residents. Upon arrival in Teche Country, the Red Cross opened racially-segregated refugee camps in Lafayette Parish. As the waters encroached, an interminable stream of wagons, trucks, motor cars, and horses, clogged the still dry roads leading from "doomed" St. Martin Parish, as residents (Creole, white and African American) poured into Lafayette. Towns like Loreauville, Breaux Bridge, Arnaudville, Cécilia, Léonville, Port Barré – and other communities – who had been trapped, soon joined St. Martinville residents at Lafayette. By 21 May, some 8,000 displaced residents crowded the "tent cities" (refugee camps) in Lafayette Parish, which divided them by race (see Image 8). Officials in Lafayette announced that 300 persons per hour arrived at the city and parish's camps, and authorities prepared to accommodate 15,000 by the week's end. In total, around 17,000 distressed Teche residents, especially from St. Martin Parish and the Loreauville area of Iberia Parish, fled to Lafayette by the end of May after losing everything they owned. [131]

Federal agencies segregating relief efforts did so based on decisions at the nation's capital rather than Southern regional preferences. Military leaders issued directives to the Red Cross for segregated quarters for black-racialized citizens in other situations during the same period. For instance, Dwight D. Eisenhower, then a US Army major, noted that "while [integrated sleeping quarters were] desirable," it remained necessary that "separate sleeping accomodations be provided for Negro soldiers." Similarly, when the Red Cross launched blood drives during the same period, it initially denied the blood of black-racialized citizens outright. As demands for blood increased by citizens on both

[131] "Flee On Hoover's Warning," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 21 May 1927, p. 1; Conrad, *New Iberia*, 371.

sides of the racial coin, Red Cross director Norman H. Davis, accepted blood from black-racialized citizens, but on a segregated basis only, "so that those receiving transfusions may be given plasma from blood of their own race," he wrote.[132]

National, regional, and state organizations responded to the crisis by transporting residents, livestock, and remaining furniture out of the inundated areas along the Teche. On 23 May, the United States Coast Guard rescued residents stuck on the upper levels of their homes in the lowlands between Breaux Bridge and Lafayette. Calling out in English to the desperate Francophone and Creolophone people who gathered perilously on their roofs or peered out from top-floor garrets, Coast Guard boats ferried one hundred "Acadian families" (probably used without regard to race) to Lafayette, the *Brainerd Daily Dispatch* of Brainerd, Minnesota, reported. At Anse-La-Butte and Cocoville, two cane farming communities situated between Breaux Bridge (St. Martin Parish) and Lafayette, local farmers and National Guardsmen endeavored to save as much livestock as possible by relocating them to higher ground towards Lafayette. Not only were the animals valuable commodities in their own right, but for small operators who relied on cattle, mules, and oxen for transportation and field work, the livestock

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[132] Harry Butcher Diary, 15 August 1942, Dwight D. Eisenhower Library, in Kasey S. Pipes, *Ike's Final Battle: The Road to Little Rock and the Challenge of Equality* (Washington, DC: WND Books, 2007), 41; Dwight Jon Zimmerman, "The American Red Cross African-American Blood Ban Scandal," *Defense Media Network*, website, accessed 8 April 2015, http://www.defensemedianetwork.com/stories/the-american-red-cross-african-american-blood-ban-scandal/. See also, Alan Anderson, *The Songwriter Goes to War: The Story of Irving Berlin's World War II All-Army Production of This is the Army* (Milwaukee: Limelight Editions, 2004), 79-81; Jeffery Magee, *Irving Berlin's American Musical Theater* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 213.

recovery program helped restore the livelihoods of dependent, needy, and desperate farmers.[133]

Although residents along the Teche clamored and looked to national agents (Guardsmen included) to save them from ruin, the flood's relief efforts hardened racial codes and reinforced the importance of English language in these multicolored and increasingly multilingual Creole communities. Indeed, federal and state mandated aid frequently provided racially separate boats, train cars, and refugee camps. Camp Hamilton in Opelousas served as one tent city, holding roughly 8,000 whitened homeless flood victims. In Iberia Parish, the Louisiana National Guard set up white teepee style tents that dotted the east side of Spanish Lake in a community called Segura, where the American Red Cross, through the aid of (the Irish) Father McGlade of St. Edward Catholic Church for nonwhites, relocated Iberians of color. Similarly, Lafayetters converted Île Copal, once governor Alexandre Mouton's antebellum plantation, into one of the city's camps for people of color (see Image 10). Paul Breaux, principal and founder of the Paul Breaux School for nonwhites in Lafayette, set up a camp on his school grounds in the Lafayette city limits (see Image 11). Refugees overcrowded camps so quickly, and depleted reserve food stuff, that many local leaders feared the crowd would present a potentially serious sanitary issue. William B. Redden, national medical officer of the American Red Cross, declared the situation to be "the gravest health and sanitary problem America has ever faced outside of wartime." Although no epidemic developed

[133] "Threatens to Inundate Parts of 6 Parishes Inhabited by 50,000 People," *Brainerd Daily Dispatch*, 23 May 1927, p. 1; "Scramble For Dry Land As Flood Spreads," *The Bee*, 25 May 1927, p. 3.

along the Teche, the water and mud drowned and mummified thousands of animals and garden produce. The local economy suffered most of all.[134]

The cane industry suffered a fatal blow due to flood. The harvest from 1926 produced a mere 68,000 tons of raw sugar, accounting for barely 1% of the national market. In fact, the flood worsened the industry's already imperiled situation considerably. The disaster destroyed 33,000 acres of the older Creole (purple and striped) variety cane planted in Louisiana. Cane farmers entered a destitute period. The *Oregon Statesman* reported on 4 June:

> Recent reports from the Louisiana sugar growing district [...] that many growers are so discouraged by the latest blow to their hopes caused by the flood that they are about to give up the fight to continue domestic production.

A variety of Javanese cane called POJ (Proefstation Oost Java) introduced in 1924, with increased resistance to crop disease and climate, offered some relief to the industry in the aftermath of the flood. The natural disaster in 1927 only destroyed 1,000-1,500 acres of the POJ cane. The Javanese cane, in particular varieties 36, 213, and 234, proved not only superior in quality to the older Creole cane, but they also stood well under flood conditions. The small amount of POJ varieties planted through the 1927 annual growing season proved their ability to overcome extreme wet seasons and inundations. Regardless of the new variety's benefits, Louisiana growers nevertheless remained wedded to older plant types. As late as 1927, farmers still planted the Creole varieties as investment in the Javanese cane required money, which many farmers did not have. Indeed, with much of the annual cane crop under water or its roots sodden after weeks of exposure to flood

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[134] Conrad, *New Iberia*, 371; William Alexander Percy, *Lanterns on the Levee: Recollections of a Planter's Son* (s.l.: Goodale Press, 2013), 253, 257; "Scramble For Dry Land As Flood Spreads," *The Bee*, 25 May 1927, p. 3; "Refugees Suffer," *Belvidere Daily Republican*, 27 May 1927, p. 1; *Santa Cruz Evening News*, 28 April 1927, p. 1.

damage, industry leaders decided to abort grinding cane in 1927, except in a handful of isolated locations with POJ cane, which produced 70,000 tons of sugar, roughly the same tonnage as 1926.[135]

Flood damage – when combined with the spiraling costs associated with POJ cane – proved expensive, and brought the sugarcane industry to a grinding halt after the flood. Bankers, moreover, no longer could assist in the rehabilitation of the Louisiana cane industry, so severe were planters' and landholders' levels of indebtedness following the ruinous flood. By Spring 1927, the cumulative effect of the flood and its devastating blow to many smaller sugar cane farmers ensured that many residents along the Mississippi and Bayou Teche were deeply impoverished. For many former cane workers, the 1927 flood was the final straw and they left southwest Louisiana for new starts on drier land. Some rural Creoles of color, who were washed off their land, headed to Port Arthur, Beaumont, and Houston, Texas, where the music known as "lala" fused with the urban blues music indigenous to that region. The result, musicologist Roger Wood argues, was a new sound that came to be known as "Zydeco" – a word that "Was established initially in Houston, not Louisiana." For Creoles of color, who reconstituted their lives and aspirations in neighboring Texas, the high waters of 1927 would gradually recede into memories, but for those who continued to reside in the Bayou State, the flood was a foretaste of the economic disaster knocking at their door in 1929.[136]

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[135] Percy, *Lanterns on the Levee*, 249; "Flood Hits Cane Growers Hard," *Oregon Statesman*, 4 June 1927, p. 4; ibid., 26 August 1928, p. 8; *The Independent Record*, 1 March 1928, p. 5. Regarding the new POJ cane, see Arthur H. Rosenfeld, "Some Thoughts On the Milling of P.O.J. Canes," *Sugar Bulletin* VI, no. 12 (15 March 1928): 1, 2; *The Lincoln Star*, 3 June 1928, p. 8; Alex G. Alexander, *Sugarcane Physiology* (Amsterdam: Elsevier Scientific Publishing, 1973), 54-6; R. J. Matherne, "A History of Major Louisiana Sugarcane Varieties," *Proceedings of the International Society of Sugar Cane Technology* 13 (1969): 1056-61.

[136] A.C. Barnes, *The Sugar Cane* (London: Leonard Hill, 1964), 32, 39-40, 49; in Rehder, *Delta Sugar*, 18, 58.

4.2 The Great Depression years

On Tuesday, 29 October 1929, the US Stock Market crashed and the United States quickly entered a long economic depression. Historians and economists identify many sources of the Wall Street collapse, but the underlying effect of the crash led to bank and credit failures, deflation, and a weakened currency. The Wall Street crash affected all citizens alike, but disfranchised people of color felt the brunt of the economic depression as the nation's finances plummeted and with it, economic prospects for Louisiana.

The depression particularly exposed Louisiana's sugarcane industry, which relied heavily on federal assistance, and despite the protectionist Smoot-Hawley tariff of 1930, Louisiana cane farmers watched global sugar prices collapse. Sugar markets around the world entered the late 1920s and early 1930s glutted with surplus supplies; moreover, appetites for sugar decreased, which reduced the value of sugar and disfavored Louisiana sugar cane growers yet again. Continuous drops in global sugar prices and cheaper imported sugar into the United States exacerbated the sugar dilemma for Louisiana cane growers. In 1926, US domestic raw sugar prices reached five cents per pound. In 1932, prices fell below 3¢ per pound. Simultaneously, cheaper foreign sugars saturated US domestic markets, crushing Louisiana growers who faced not only foreign competitors, but a new wave of domestic competition from beet sugar farmers in the Midwest. Global raw sugar prices hovered at 5¢ per pound due to the surplus in raw and refined sugars worldwide. But Louisiana growers seldom exported. Instead, they faced depressed prices and glutted markets. The American Sugar Cane League, speaking for US domestic growers, argued that the federal government actively contributed to the Louisiana cane

sugar market's demise as imported sugars entered the domestic market for far cheaper than production costs of the Louisiana cane sugar.[137]

The federal government's decision to welcome foreign-manufactured sugars over Louisiana's cane sugar also impacted the already enfeebled Louisiana sugar economy. Over the course of the 1920s, as discussed in chapter three, the United States entered trade agreements with foreign governments for the importation of cheaply manufactured sugar. In the immediate post-World War I years, the Philippines occupied a prominent place with its duty-free imports. But Cuba, where many American businessmen invested heavily in the sugarcane industry, came to play an even more prominent role in US sugar markets after the Fordney-McCumber Tariff Act of 1922. In 1927, direct American interest in Cuba exceeded $600 million dollars. In 1928, the Cuba Cane Sugar Corporation, founded in New York in 1915, owned 377,900 acres of land in Cuba, and leased a further 279,500 acres there, accounting for 40% of Cuban sugarcane farmland in 1926-1928 which produced in excess of 60% of Cuban sugar. By 1929, Cuban and American merchants in Cuba shipped 77% (3 million tons) of its sugar to the United States, where Cuban sugar represented half of domestic American sugar consumption. The cheaper, better quality of foreign sugars in American-occupied (de facto or de jure) territories (Cuba and Puerto Rico included) marginalized still further the Louisiana sugarcane market. By 1929, Louisiana sugar struggled to account for 5% of domestic American consumption, despite a record output of 217,634 tons of sugar. Cuba, as J. C.

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[137] *Sugar Bulletin*, VII (15 May 1929), 205; Ibid., IX (1 October 1930), 10; Conrad and Lucas, *White Gold*, 67; Sitterson, *Sugar Country*, 380-81; Elizabeth Vaughan, "Louisiana Sugar: A Geohistorical Perspective" (PhD diss., Louisiana State University, 2003), 123-61; César J. Ayala, *American Sugar Kingdom: The Plantation Economy of the Spanish Caribbean, 1898-1934* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 230; 239; "U.S. Sugar Piles Up As Sweet Tooth Lessens," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 10 June 1928, p. 64; Willard Cochrane, *The Development of American Agriculture: A Historical Analysis*, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993) in Vaughan, "Louisiana Sugar," 130.

Royle summarized, as it had done from the middle of the 19th century, complicated the place and future of Louisiana sugar in national and international markets.[138]

Cheaper imported sugars undermined many Louisiana growers' ability to weather the global storm and once again many cane farmers deserted the industry and plantations leaving vast acres of land uncultivated. The flood of 1927 followed by the depression particularly impacted small growers in Louisiana's sugar bowl such that in 1934, some 260,000 acres of cultivable land (34%) lay idle. With little incentive to grow cane, Louisiana growers abandoned former cane fields. Between 1925 and 1929, sugarcane farmers in the state withdrew from production as much as 40% of the cultivable land (100,000 acres). A further 19% followed during the depression years of 1930-1934. The Great Depression leveled many Americans' incomes and ability to maintain themselves. But farmers and laborers of color in Louisiana (as elsewhere in the South), who had been disadvantaged and disfranchised since before the 1890s, especially felt the debilitating effects of the depression and sugar downturn, as lower wages and less work generated little to no income on which to survive and feed families. Cane worker wages declined precipitously as sugar operatives faced grave conditions at home and in the shrinking cane industry. As one south Louisiana cane worker of color grieved: "Time is hahd [...] Ah mean hahd. Ef ah ain't had this heah garden patch during de dee-pression Ah s'pec Ah w'uld be too pore to walk now."[139]

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[138] Charles M. Dollar, "The South and the Fordney-McCumber Tariff of 1922: A Study In Regional Politics," *Journal of Southern History* 39, no. 1 (1973): 45-66; Donald F. Larson and Brent Borrell, *Sugar Policy and Reform* (The World Bank, 2001): 10; Roscoe B. Fleming, "The Sugar Battle---What's It All About," *Santa Ana Register*, 11 October 1929, p. 20; "Our Livestock Very Much Needs Beet Sugar Industry," *The Oregon Statesman*, 25 August 1927, p. 14; J. C. Royle, "In the Business World Today," *Altoona Mirror*, 19 July 1929, p. 5; *Sugar Bulletin*, VIII, (15 January 1930), p. 2, 8; Ibid., XII (1 November 1933), p. 3.

[139] R.J. Saville and A.L. Dugas, *Some Characteristics of Cultivable Land in the Sugar Cane Area of Louisiana* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Agricultural Experiment Station, 1936), 12-19, 25-30, 46-7,

The depression impoverished the poor and indigent and it crushed cane farmers in multiple ways. With money scarce, small, poor farmers poorly maintained stock animals, which remained important in the cane industry. Mules remained a necessity for many farmers through the late 1920s and early 1930s, as tractors had not yet entirely replaced stock animals (or people) in harvest season. Lean animals and hungry cane workers hardly provided the basis for a competitive sugar industry. Farm implements and other equipment equally fell into disrepair. As tenants deserted the cane fields in pursuit of better wages and labor conditions elsewhere, tenant cabins became ghost towns. And many sugar mills closed. Between 1923 and 1927 alone, over 50 mills closed. Whereas in 1922, Louisiana had 112 sugar factories, by 1933, only 68 remained. The Depression profoundly shook the Louisiana sugar industry and the communities that worked the cane fields. But for regional heritage boosters, demonstrating ethnic resilience in face of economic adversity served their platform well, and gave the nascent Acadian heritage-based tourism industry a further leap forward.[140]

Acadian tourism

The debilitating effects of the 1927 flood and Great Depression motivated southwest Louisiana cultural boosters even more to further institutionalize Acadian memory by "reveal[ing] the truth about *Evangeline,*" according to Dudley Leblanc, and using that "true story" of strong, hard-working whitened peasants to market Louisiana's

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in Sitterson, *Sugar Country*, 381; Vernon Joseph Parenton, "A Sociological Study of a Negro Village in the French Section of Louisiana," (MA thes., Louisiana State University, 1938), 118 in Sitterson, *Sugar Country*, 382; Becnel, *Labor, Church, and the Sugar Establishment*, 16.

[140] *New Orleans Item-Tribune*, 31 January 1937; Parenton, "A Sociological Study," 118; Sitterson, *Sugar Country*, 382, 387; A.B. Gilmore, *Directory of Louisiana Sugar Planters* (New Orleans: 1922); Ibid., *Gilmore's Louisiana Sugar Manual* (New Orleans: s.n., 1922-41), in Rehder, *Delta Sugar*, 127.

culture, people, and industries. With the region impoverished and cane hands fleeing the industry, Leblanc resurrected and reworked Longfellow's fictional account of the Acadian exile, promising the "true story" of the Acadian people.[141]

Yet, Leblanc reworked a particular – and historically inaccurate – version of the Acadian experience in Louisiana. This rewriting entirely excluded the 19th century, which accomplished two important objectives. It obfuscated widespread Acadian participation in slavery in southern Louisiana, white-washing Acadian history in Louisiana. Creoles of Acadian descent had actually prospered from slave labor throughout the antebellum period. In St. Martin Parish in 1860, fully 55% of all slaveholders descended from Acadian stock and some, like Placide A. Thibodeaux, owned 75 slaves. And their investment in slavery climbed even higher in Lafayette, Vermilion and the river parishes between Baton Rouge and New Orleans. By omitting the 19th century, Leblanc could assert that people of Acadian descent worked hard for their own money without benefitting from other people's labor and could distance so-called Louisiana Acadians from any kinship with black-racialized Creoles.[142]

In fact, like so many other Creole families of Acadian descent, Dudley Leblanc's family benefitted from black-racialized labor and from its corollary: white supremacy. His own grandfather, Dolzé Leblanc, owned at least one slave in 1860, and his grandfather's siblings (Dosithé, Aurélie, and Théogène) each owned slaves, as well. A half-century later, Leblanc's positions in business and Louisiana politics entirely

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[141] Dudley Leblanc reiterated Félix Voorhies's insistence on *Evangeline* being a true story in Dudley J. LeBlanc, *The True Story of the Acadians* (1927; Pawtucket, RI: Quintin Publications, rep. 1998).

[142] Ibid. See also "Modern Acadians Reveal The Truth About 'Evangeline'," *Vernon Daily Record*, 1 September 1930, p. 6; U.S. Census, 1850 and 1860, Slave Schedules. See slave schedules for West Baton Rouge, Iberville, Ascension, Assumption, and St. James Parishes in 1850 and 1860 for more inventories. P. P. Babin, of West Baton Rouge Parish, owned 106 slaves in 1858.

excluded black-racialized people altogether. His Thibodeaux Benevolent Association and Louisiana Acadian Association excluded black-racialized people, but he did start a funeral policy for that community, which Huey Long later used to discredit Leblanc's candidacy for governor. *The True Story of the Acadians*, first published by Leblanc in 1927, predated the flood, but it enabled Dudley Leblanc to crowbar a version of Acadian history into public consciousness. Importantly, Leblanc's romanticized blackout sat well with the white-identified American public of the 1920s. Appeasing whitened Americans was important, not only because Leblanc's account eliminated slavery from public history, but it reinforced stylized – though widely accepted – views over the importance of "authentic culture." As early as 1928, Robert Gordon established the Archive of American Folklore at the Library of Congress and folklorists such as John and Alan Lomax began collecting what they believed to be authentic voices of America. The fascination with folk culture likewise shadowed Leblanc and thus his *True Story* – a contradiction in terms – stressed the rustic, racially-pure, and authentic culture for people to admire and consume. Acadian-based tours in Louisiana therefore depended on white consumers and their particular predilections for white folkloric traditions.[143]

One year after the disastrous flood of 1927, Susan Walker and Dudley Leblanc demonstrated whitened Acadian resilience when they hit the roads to bring Louisiana Acadian people to the American forefront. In 1928, through connections made several years earlier, Leblanc participated in a convention on Acadian descendants in Massachusetts. To illustrate Louisiana Acadian endurance, he brought four other Creoles of Acadian descent to the shores of Cape Cod. In melodic and charming Louisiana French, "Couzin Dud" went on to electrify, enamor, and impassion the 6,000 attendees.

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[143] Ibid.; *State-Times*, 29 December 1931; *Louisiana Progress*, 12 January 1932; in Clay, *Coozan Dudley Leblanc,* 85.

To capture hearts and cultivate shared nostalgia, he played with established tropes from Longfellow's *Evangeline*, when he characterized Louisiana Acadians as the "most romantic and tragically unfortunate of all the [Acadian] exiles." Indeed, it helped that *Evangeline* (the poem), and Evangeline (the memory), were emotionally and physically connected to St. Martinville. The little southwest Louisiana town had been the locus of both romance and tragedy of ill-fated Acadians for nearly 100 years, and no other text cultivated and informed Acadian memory as much as Longfellow's poem. The usability of St. Martinville's Longfellow-Evangeline State Park and Evangeline Oak Park and living embodiments of continued Acadian culture along the Teche, such as "Coozan Dud" (Leblanc), sparked interstate and transnational alliances as cultural boosters like Leblanc attempted to imbue American and Canadian culture with their romanticized version of Acadian memory. Leblanc's narrative implied white ethnic distinction.[144]

Delegates at the Acadian convention in Massachusetts enjoyed Leblanc's ethnic sermons in French so much that the Democratic National Committee invited him in 1928 to campaign in French for them in New England Francophone communities. Leblanc, like the Lafayette judge, Julien Mouton, became more than just an Acadian activist; he became a voice for Francophone communities, whether Acadian-descended, or not, and a potent political tool. If Dudley could be used as the Francophone mouthpiece of the Democratic Party in the predominantly Republican Northeast, then his French language political boosting encouraged some, notably French Canadian immigrants, to join and actively support the Democratic Party.[145]

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[144] *Lafayette Tribune*, 31 August 1928; *St. Martin Weekly Messenger*, 8 September 1928; *The Meridional*, 8 September 1928, 27 October 1928; in Brundage, "Memory and Acadian Identity," 61.

[145] Ibid.

Given the exceptional popularity of Acadians in the 1920s, it came as no surprise when Acadian booster Susan Walker brought Acadianness to the very hub of the two dominant political parties. After the success of the traveling mannequins in antiquated costumes in 1924, followed by the establishment of the Longfellow-Evangeline State Park in St. Martinville, Walker moved to personify Louisiana Acadians by launching a troop of charming, bright-eyed "Evangeline Girls" to do nothing more than advertise the state's natural beauty, industries, and simple antebellum values and craftsmanship at political and cultural events. She recruited elite attractive and ebullient girls, like Mildred Shell (the daughter of a judge), from throughout Louisiana of any descent to join the group and dress as simple home maids spinning cotton at the loom (see Image 12). Fitted in black bodices, long and flowing blue satin dresses, wooden shoes, white aprons and Normandy-inspired bonnets, the quaintly converted middle-class whitened brunettes hit the roads to invoke nostalgia for simple Acadian girls during the Roaring Twenties.[146]

In 1928, Walker and her Evangeline Girls left Louisiana to meet America. To audiences across the nation – many of whom regretted the fast-paced social changes of the 1920s, and who hankered for old world values – the Evangeline girls symbolized an authentic rustic whitened Francophone culture and people. The popularity of the Acadian costumes from the Philadelphia World's Fair and the mannequins at a New York City department store in 1924 encouraged Walker to bring real Acadian girls to America this time. In summer 1928, she chaperoned a group of 20 Evangeline Girls to

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[146] "'Acadian Girls' Attract More Attention Than Display," *Monroe News-Star*, 13 June 1928, p. 1; Brundage, "Memory and Acadian Identity," pp. 59-60. Mildred Shell, the daughter of a Judge, was from Bastrop, north Louisiana. See "Bastrop Girl At Inauguration," *Monroe Star-News*, 5 March 1929, p. 1. On the inspiration for the costume, see "Modern Acadians Reveal The Truth About 'Evangeline'," *Vernon Daily Record*, 1 September 1930, p. 6.

the Republican and Democratic National Conventions. At the Hotel President in downtown Kansas City, Missouri, three of the troop mounted a booth draped in Spanish moss with purple and gold elements, showcasing Louisiana's natural beauty and resources. The booths interested attendees, but as one Kansas City paper headlined, the "'Acadian Girls' Attract More Attention Than Display." In Houston, Texas, at the Democratic Convention, the troop presented Joe T. Robinson of Arkansas, chairman of the convention, a gavel formed allegedly from a branch of the Evangeline Oak tree in St. Martinville. Throughout the convention, the troop manned an information booth where they advertised the state and distributed books and other material by the hundreds. Walker ignored no politically important national event.[147]

In 1929, the Evangeline Girls visited with White House officials and attended the inauguration of US President, Herbert Hoover. On 4 March, they presented Mrs. Hoover with homespun bedspreads and blankets (see Image 13). Saturating national political leaders with symbols, and highly stylized versions of Acadian memory ensured that ethnic Acadians in south Louisiana enjoyed an exceptional place in the national mindset. Communities like the Italians in New Orleans, enjoyed no such amity and adoration and not everyone in the region celebrated the Evangeline girls. A local Teche Country newspaper regarded Walker's actions as a "progressive stunt." That conclusion

[147] Ibid.; "'Acadian Girls' Attract More Attention Than Display," *Monroe News-Star*, 13 June 1928, p. 1, "Louisiana's Evangeline Girls Make Hit At Convention," 29 June 1928, p. 1. The troop's leaders included Pearl L. Anding of Opelousas (a daughter of Susan Walk), Lillian Landry of Baton Rouge, and Erin B. Nolan of Opelousas, President of the South Louisiana Press Association. For more on Walker's relationship with the press director, see *Monroe News-Star*, 13 June 1928, p. 8.

was not far off the mark, but her relationship with the director of the South Louisiana Press Association served Walker's Acadianizing agenda well.[148]

Two years later, Acadian activism in Louisiana, New England, and Canada converged with dramatic effects. In 1930, Nova Scotian boosters planned the 175th anniversary memorial of the Acadian expulsion in 1755 and used Longfellow's *Evangeline* to popularize the event. Event promoters promised visitors a return "to [the] scene of Longfellow's Evangeline" almost two centuries after the *Grand Dérangement* or expulsion of the Acadians from the maritime shores of British Canada. The anniversary entailed visits throughout Nova Scotia, especially along the Bay of Fundy, and the inauguration of the Acadian Historic Museum, located inside of the Grand Pré heritage park. The park itself attracted "thousands of lovers of Longfellow's striking character" (Evangeline), annually. Although slated to take place in the willow-lined dreamy heritage park, event coordinators hoped to first and foremost assemble living descendants of the Acadians to demonstrate a sustained Acadian presence and relevance to the 20th century. To accomplish this, organizers invited descendants of the original 18th century Acadians from throughout North America to the anniversary memorial.[149]

Dudley Leblanc did not miss the opportunity to promote his native region or advance his claim to an authentic Acadian identity. That year (1930), Leblanc created the Association of Louisiana Acadians and escorted its members on pilgrimages to meet long lost relatives in Canada during the anniversary memorial in Nova Scotia. Keen to strengthen cross-national ties and the identification of white Acadians in Louisiana with

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[148] "Louisiana Party Will Visit Nova Scotia," *Ames Daily Tribune*, 10 May 1930, p. 7; "Mrs. Hoover Greets Evangeline Girls," *The Bee*, 13 March 1929, p. 1.

[149] "French Pioneers' Descendants Meet," *Kingsport Times*, 20 August 1930; "Acadians Returning After 175 Years To Scene of Longfellow's Evangeline," *The Sandusky Register*, 14 August 1930; "Acadians To Hold Parley," *Macon Chronicle-Herald*, 11 August 1930, p. 2.

their colonial forefathers, Dudley led 25 costumed Evangeline Girls and a delegation of 13 whitened Louisiana Acadians to Boston, where they met New England Acadians and traveled by sea to Nova Scotia for the event. The Pullman rail cars transporting the Louisiana pilgrims widely publicized the passengers with banners informing passersby of the "Acadians of the Evangeline Country" on board. Once in Canada, the delegation visited the Pointe-à-Major cemetery, an original grave site of expelled Acadians who returned to Nova Scotia after the deportation. From Yarmouth to Annapolis Royal, the Nova Scotian countryside and its people reminded Louisiana Creoles of their kinship to the Acadians and their descendants. Nova Scotians lined the streets by the hundreds to welcome the returning Louisianians.[150]

Predictably, Grand Pré's heritage park of supposedly Acadian relics, charmed the Louisiana delegation and the journey's sentimentality increased as local Nova Scotian officials presented the Louisiana delegation "with a key to Grand Pré" on 20th August. For their part, Louisiana's visiting delegates welcomed the sojourn in Nova Scotia and the prospect of Evangelizing the Creole message across North America. Carrying the alleged buccolic spirit of Evangeline to the Bay of Fundy and beyond, Leblanc's home-spun girls (some of whom had no connections to the original 18th century Acadians) literally transported the spirit and myth of Longfellow's poem to Canada, announcing as

[150] "French Pioneers' Descendants Meet," *Kingsport Times*, 20 August 1930; "Acadians Returning After 175 Years To Scene of Longfellow's Evangeline," *The Sandusky Register*, 14 August 1930; *The Meridional*, 1 March 1930, 28 June 1930, 19 July 1930, 16 August 1930; *Weekly Messenger*, 15 March 1930, 26 July 1930, 16 August 1930; *New Iberia Enterprise and Weekly Observer*, 12-19 July 1930, 16 August 1930; *Weekly Iberian*, 17 July 1930, 4 September 1930; Lafayette *Daily Advertiser*, 13, 25 August 1930; Opelousas *Clarion-News*, 14, 21 August 1930.

one journalist presumed, "a copy of Longfellow's poem is a prized possession of every [Louisiana Acadian] family."[151]

Hollywood helped to give the Acadian movement reach and cultural value yet again in the late 1920s. In 1929, film makers brought Hollywood right to the heart of the Acadian romance: New Iberia. There, it filmed yet another edition of Longfellow's *Evangeline*, but this version proved particularly special for locals, since filming occurred in southwest Louisiana, where the actors could draw from the scenery and people to inform and enhance the motion picture's reliability and assumed authenticity. Hollywood, however, did not include Louisianians in the motion picture. Dolores del Río, a lavishly wealthy Mexican actress, played the role of Evangeline, and sensationalized audiences in southwest Louisiana. One New Iberia resident, Alice Ann Gates, recalled that the movie was "thrilling" and that the filming "was a big thing for New Iberia." Local entrepreneurs, realizing the attraction of the Evangeline name, soon named their businesses after Longfellow's heroine, from the Evangeline Café, Evangeline Theater to the Evangeline Hotel. As del Río departed New Iberia after filming, groups of white locals lined the railroad tracks and adorned their Latin heroine with bouquets of flowers for her journey elsewhere on the Sunset Limited train. Like the previous Hollywood version of *Evangeline* (1919), the 1929 edition toured the nation, further inculcating Longfellow's memory of the Acadians, which now Americans could associate with living, breathing people in the Acadian girls of southwest Louisiana.[152]

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[151] Brundage, "Memory and Acadian Identity," pp. 61-2; James T. Vocelle, *The Triumph of the Acadians: A True Story of Evangeline's People* (Vero Beach, FL, 1930), n.p.

[152] Alice Ann Gates, "Reminiscences of the Teens and Twenties," in Conrad, ed., *New Iberia*, pp. 374-5, 347. "'Evangeline,' Immortal Romance of Acadians, Opens At Murphy Today," *Wilmington News-Journal*, 18 June 1930, p. 3; "Modern Descendants of Acadians Gather In Storied Village," *Galveston Daily News*, 21 August 1930, p. 1; "Immortality For The Acadians," *Denton Record-Chronicle*, 26 August 1930, p. 2.

In 1931, building on the successful pilgrimage and memorial of the Acadian deportation, Canadian descendants of Acadians embarked on their own pilgrimage to Louisiana, which further intensified white Acadian identity and transnational ties. Twenty eight Canadian Catholic priests and one Catholic bishop accompanied 138 Canadians on a five day tour of Louisiana's own "Land of Evangeline." Louisiana Acadians had sojourned in Nova Scotia to experience their ancestors' homeland just a year earlier. But, Canadian Acadians wished to view Louisiana Acadians, their culture, the St. Martinville oak tree made famous in *Evangeline*, and the grave which local St. Martin Parish residents claimed to be Evangeline's. The Canadian delegation's visit coincided with the unveiling of the monument commemorating Evangeline in St. Martinville.[153]

The Acadian pilgrimage and the French-language events, however, masked the rapid Americanization of the Louisiana Acadians and their new post-war Anglophone culture. Whereas 95% of the community of Grand Bois, St. Martin Parish, discussed in chapter one, spoke "French" in 1910, by 1930, only 18% remained. Of that 18%, those hosting Canadian visitors expressed great difficulty in understanding Acadian and Quebecer French, so far removed were the Creole and Acadian Catholic cultures. Nevertheless, the fact that some "Francophones" remained in Louisiana's Acadian mecca, St. Martinville, ensured that the visiting Canadians had the opportunity to meet a small pool of committed French-language speakers.[154]

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[153] Brundage, "Memory and Acadian Identity," 62.

[154] *1930 U.S. Census*, Louisiana, St. Martin Parish, Police Jury Ward 3, Enumeration District 8, pp. 1-23. Total ward residents: 1,150. Total who did not speak English: 205. Lane, "Notes on Louisiana-French," 326.

The Acadian boosters of the late 1920s indeed committed themselves to maintaining cultural ties with their colonial forefathers and mothers, but their promotional drive also included the rest of North America. Walker, Leblanc, and Hollywood, helped to expose whitened authentic "modern descendants of Acadians" to a national audience and to emphasize the direct lineage of Leblanc and others to Acadian exiles. Whether under the guise of the Evangeline girls or home-spun garb of Hollywood's movie, Acadian promoters and national media executives stressed the static pastoral and Francophone Acadian culture in the Louisiana bayous. These ideas and cultural representations of southwest Louisiana endured. For many more years to come, whitened Creoles – Dudley Leblanc included – adhered to an implicitly white-defined Acadianness. Creoles of color, by contrast, found themselves excluded from the national fixation with the Evangeline girls. For them, the rising of a white racially marked Acadian identity ensured separation and in turn segregation. Leblanc, however, was not alone in his efforts to retrench and redefine Francophone identities in Louisiana. Outsiders, and most particularly Anglophones, had already transformed the region. State and federal administrators poured into the region after the flood. Tourists had already begun traveling to the region, and the collapse of the cane industry had already signalled out-migrations from the Creole community causing gradual shrinkage. All of these processes contributed to the pace of change in southwest Louisiana. Facing the rapid transmutation of Francophone and Catholic folkways, the Lafayette Catholic diocese once again felt compelled to intervene in the social changes altering Creole communities.

4.3 Lafayette Diocesan Reaction

The transformations to Louisiana Creole culture, which accelerated in the World War I years, continued in the aftermath of the Great Flood of 1927 and the Depression. Once again the Lafayette Catholic diocese sought to intervene and stymie changes to its communities. It began with a vocal movement on the maintenance and strengthening of Catholic morality, which began in the mid 1920s, but increased after the flood. Bishop Jeanmard stressed the Catholic responsibility of parents to watch over their children, noting that God asks his flock to watch over their children for Him. As a common adage went, "an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure." Successful parenting did not limit itself to simply teaching and turning a blind eye, the Bishop lectured; it lay in continual watchfulness or vigilance and acknowledgment that children are prone to evil. Lafayette diocesan leaders bemoaned national fashion trends then in style and regarded these aesthetic shifts as sinful. Teenage girls should be modest, and not be in public in "flimsy dresses, and [...] bare limbs." Revealing clothing led to prostitution and production of illegitimate children rather than holy matrimony, Jeanmard intoned. Dance halls, especially certain ones in unnamed outlying districts, received the strongest condemnation from the bishop, as he found them "demoralizing," "veritable plague-spots," "foci of corruption," and thus "the greatest source of danger."[155]

Movies became exceptionally popular after World War I, which the Catholic diocese believed to be a driving force in the behavioral changes among southwest Louisiana Catholics. That Hollywood featured English-only pictures no longer concerned the clergy. Nor did motion pictures in themselves trouble the bishop; he

[155] Jules B. Jeanmard to the clergy and laity, 8 March 1922; Jeanmard to the clergy, 23 April 1930, 27 June 1933.

published a list of approved movies in pastorals. Instead, the Catholic leader (along with Catholic leaders globally) viewed certain themes as deeply problematic. To ensure that Catholics understood which movies to avoid and which ones to watch, the International Federation of Catholic Alumnae published a movie code for all Catholics to follow. Popular movies featuring divorce, conjugal infidelity, seduction, murder, and burglary all violated the movie code and Catholic leaders viewed them as evil, obscene, demoralizing and "a deadly menace to morals." In 1934, for example, Jeanmard strongly discouraged popular movies like *The Trumpet Blows*, *Finishing School*, *Glamour*, and *George White Scandals* headlining that they "violated the Movie Code and are not fit to be seen." With the help of national Catholic associations, he compelled Catholics in southwest Louisiana to recall their pledge as members of the Catholic Legion of Decency, to which they belonged by default. Hollywood movies, at least the more popular ones, threatened the moral character of the Lafayette diocese's parishioners and the bishop moved to limit their influence.[156]

Next, the Lafayette diocese returned to the question of cross-cultural marriages, which Catholics leaders viewed as anathema to the Church. Bishop Jeanmard enforced an earlier, severe measure banning mixed (denominational) marriages in the aftermath of World War I when the population demographics of the Lafayette diocese began to change. During the great flood and depression, however, the in-migration of Anglophones and out-migration of Creoles only accelerated the presence of mixed-

[156]Jules B. Jeanmard to the clergy and laity, 8 March 1922, 20 February 1934, 21 June 1934, 15 December 1937; Greg Black, *Hollywood Censored: Morality Codes, Catholics and Movies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Paul Facey, *The Legion of Decency: A Sociological Analysis of the Emergence and Development of a Pressure Group* (New York: Arno Press, 1974); James Skinner, *The Cross and the Cinema: The Legion of Decency and the National Catholic Office for Motion Pictures, 1933-1970* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1993); Frank Walsh, *Sin and Censorship: The Catholic Church and the Motion Picture Industry* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996).

marriages. Indeed, mixed marriages increased significantly between 1922 and 1940, giving Catholic leaders great reason for concern. Between 1922 and 1930, when severe canonical laws discouraged marriage across religion and denomination, mixed marriages in the Diocese of Lafayette decreased from 155 to 117. Whereas from 1930 to 1940, mixed marriages more than doubled to 266. Marriages across denominational and religious lines were particularly true for communities like New Iberia, where by 1931, 85% of Catholics of color attended secular schools where Catholics and the growing Protestant communities converged. That year, John C. McGlade, C.S.Sp., rector of St. Edward Catholic Church (racial parish in New Iberia), performed 27 inter-denominational marriages alone.[157]

Mixed marriage deeply concerned Bishop Jeanmard and diocesan councilors, who viewed such marriages as a serious threat to community cohesion. In 1931, A.F. Isenberg, rector of the Cathedral of St. John in Lafayette (territorial parish), expressed the gravity of mixed marriages. He based his concern on his 25-year tenure as a clergyman in southwest Louisiana, which compelled him to frown on mixed marriages. "I am bound to favor anything in the line of registration that will restrict dispensations for [mixed marriages]," he wrote. Isenberg delved even further by arguing that such marriages characterized a "fearful" loss to the Church's membership and faith, but that, importantly, mixed marriages where the bride is the non-Catholic, the Catholic Church must ban all together. Prenuptial instructions, which Jeanmard had promulgated in the late 1910s, meant little, Isenberg observed. More crucially, lay Catholics often questioned why the Church offered dispensations for mixed marriages in the first place. On Sunday, 28 March 1937, Bishop Jeanmard enacted a mandatory dispensation for mixed-marriages

[157] *Official Catholic Directory* (New York: 1922, 1930, 1940); "Annual Report," St. Edward Catholic Church, 1931, ACDL; Fontenot and Toups, *The Gentle Shepherd*, 61.

in the Diocese of Lafayette, as "a very effective means, not only of reducing the number of mixed marriages, but of making converts." To Jeanmard and Catholic leaders, mixed marriages represented a real threat to the maintenance of Catholic values and they undermined still further the single-faith cohesion of Creole communities. Jeanmard's angst, however, was well placed. Given the continuous population changes since World War I, which Catholic leaders could not control, mixed marriages would continue to characterize couplings in southwest Louisiana for decades to come.[158]

Poverty during the depression years also restricted Jeanmard's crusade, preventing his diocese from competing with public school growth. The diocese collected limited revenue since a majority of its parishioners were working-class farmers struggling financially as a result of the declining sugarcane industry. Although the Diocese of Lafayette constructed numerous schools and churches (territorial and racial) after 1918, the Catholic population remained too diffuse for the diocese to provide a school and church in every community. In 1922, for a Catholic population of 158,715 in the Lafayette diocese, 33 Catholic schools existed, where 5,469 pupils enrolled. By 1930, the Catholic population of the diocese grew by 21% (to 192,210), and Catholic parochial schools increased by 25% (8,324). But less than 10% of school age Creoles enrolled in parochial schools; an overwhelming majority therefore attended the free public school system (taught in English), which offered more schools in nearly every community, rural and urban. While Jeanmard's parochial schools certainly proved capable of accommodating some of the Catholic communities' educational needs, local Catholic churches and their schools simply could not compete with English-speaking secular state

[158] A.F. Isenberg to Jules B. Jeanmard, 15 September 1931, ACDL; Jules B. Jeanmard to the clergy, 10 February 1937, ACDL, PB2.

institutions taking root (and expanding feverishly) throughout southwest Louisiana and its Creole communities during the late 1920s and 1930s.[159]

Predictably, Catholic leaders (on national, state, and local levels) opposed public education and denounced it as insufficient, inadequate, and associated with harmful causes. For Geoffrey O'Connell, superintendent of schools for the Diocese of Natchez in neighboring Mississippi, and a contributor to the *Catholic Action of the South*, a wide gulf separated secular and Catholic curricula. On the one hand, O'Connell maintained, secular schools simply provided manpower by teaching pupils elementary skills. Moreover, secular curricula lacked the ability and interest to transform pupils through practical as well as philosophical, moral, and religious instruction. By contrast, "Catholic schools train intelligence, but they also train the will by the practice of self-control, restraint and discipline." As a result, the Rev. Dr. Edmund A. Walsh, president of Georgetown University, concluded before secondary school teachers in New Orleans, that "Catholic schools [are a] single agent now for good." This observation, he argued, did not solely reflect his own personal opinion, since "[p]rominent leaders and educators are far from satisfied with public education." Ever keen to promulgate parochial education at the expense of state schools, Catholic clerics sought to defame secular education by associating communism and eugenics (sterilization of the underprivileged) with the public school system's leaders.[160]

To compel Catholic parents to provide a Catholic education for their children, dioceses throughout the nation, and world, relied on canon 1372 in the *Code of Canon*

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[159] *Official Catholic Directory* (New York: 1922, 1930).

[160] Geoffrey O'Connell, MA, PhD, "Catholic Education," *Catholic Action of the South*, Annual Official Catholic Directory and Calendar Supplement, 6 January 1938, pp. 71-3; "Catholic Schools Single Agent For Moral Good Is Assertion," ibid., 30 June 1938, pp. 1, 15; "Public Schools and the Hydra-Headed Menace," *Catholic Action of the South*, 10 March 1938, p. 5.

Law, which "decrees that not only parents but also those who take the place of parents have not only the right but also the most grave obligation and duty of providing a Christian education for their children." Canon 1372 obliged Catholic parents to send their children to Catholic schools, but canon 1373 described the exact dilemma which the Diocese of Lafayette (and likely many others) faced. "Canon 1373 expressly forbids the attendance of Catholic children at non-Catholic, neutral, or mixed schools, except in instances where no Catholic school exists and when the Bishop of the diocese decides that, with certain precautions, attendance at other schools may be tolerated," O'Connell lectured. In southwest Louisiana, the lack of funding and a large and diffuse population forced Jeanmard to tolerate the attendance of Catholics at the more numerous and accessible secular schools.[161]

In efforts to halt the erosion of Creole communities (or to compete with secular schools outnumbering parochial schools), Jeanmard partially resolved the dilemma (the secular education of Creoles) by bringing Catholic education to secular schools. Beginning in the 1920s, the Diocese of Lafayette explored implementing Catholic education in public schools with moderate success. By 1930, diocesan records reveal religious education in secular schools with more regularity thanks to Catholic laymen who supplemented local priests and nuns. At Breaux Bridge (St. Martin Parish), in 1930, at the public schools for nonwhites, children received catechetical instruction every Sunday. And during the two months leading to first communion and confirmation, students received obligatory religious instruction in preparation for those sacraments. The rector at St. Francis of Assisi Church for nonwhite Catholics in Breaux Bridge further noted that regular religious instruction in the public schools of his jurisdiction

[161] O'Connell, "Catholic Education," p. 71.

took place, but depended on the teacher (probably because not all teachers were Catholics). In 1933, more serious discussions of standardizing Catholic education in local secular schools took place. The diocese proposed providing a "Teacher Course" for lay Catholic teachers under the auspices of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine. And by the end of the 1930s, the Lafayette diocese succeeded in introducing Catholic religious instruction into several public schools in the diocese. Finally, lay teachers in the public schools provided daily Catholic observance and introduced weekly catechism at the public schools.[162]

Just as the institutionalization of Catholicism in public schools and church-building reached its peak, Jeanmard received crushing news in 1937 from Katherine Drexel about St. Edward's (parochial) elementary and high school in New Iberia. St. Edward's served as the only Catholic school for nonwhites in Iberia Parish from its inception in 1919 through the latter quarter of the 1930s. In 1936, it received state accreditation as a senior high school. State accreditation bound the school to the academic or curricular rigor of the state's school system. But state accreditation did not provide Catholic schools with state funds for more direct school funding (i.e. maintenance and construction). St. Edwards was of singular importance, because it also educated students from all of Iberia Parish, and half of Vermilion, St. Martin, and St. Mary Parishes. It served, in effect, as a regional Catholic educational hub for people of color. For the autumn 1937 school year, St. Edward's admitted 12 to 15 elementary students from St. Martinville, alone.

However in April 1937, Katherine Drexel notified Bishop Jeanmard that she and her organization (the SBS) "would be obliged to withdraw the customary financial

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[162] Jules B. Jeanmard *et al.* to the Apostolic Delegation, 20 February 1933; St. Francis of Assisi Church to Jules B. Jeanmard, 23 December 1930.

support which we have always given in the past, as it was impossible for us to continue to do so." She noted having paid $1,170 annually for the salary of three lay Catholic teachers in school, while simultaneously Father Joseph P. Lonergan, C.S.Sp., rector of St. Edward's, offered $900 towards the salary for the four SBS sisters then operating the school and convent. Drexel lamented to Father Lonergan and to the bishop that the $900 "were utterly and completely inadequate to support the sisters, pay the salaries, pay the wages of the domestic, and keep the little convent in repair," the deficit of which fell on the SBS Motherhouse. Lonergan saw no other financial means of supporting and maintaining the school, and he considered closing the high school.

As Drexel pointed out, the state secular school system endeavored "to do everything possible to expand the [public] rural school system," and much to Drexel's chagrin, Creoles "would certainly attend these non-Catholic and State schools, with very bad results." That is, Drexel observed that state schools lacked Catholic education in the first grades of elementary schools, which she and other Catholic educators, like O'Connell, felt harmful to the overall character building of the students. The burden of financing the school, and preventing it from closing, Drexel left with Bishop Jeanmard.[163]

The high school nevertheless closed, and left Catholics of color in St. Martin and Iberia Parishes without a parochial high school. Their only other parochial high school option was at Holy Rosary Institute, which already served the region and lacked space for additional students. More practically, the closing of St. Edward's signaled the transfer of Catholic students to the local public high schools. Culturally, the mostly Protestant Anglophone teachers at the Iberia Parish Training School (Iberia Parish's only high school for nonwhites in the 1930s) exposed Catholics to the overwhelmingly Protestant

[163] Katherine Drexel to Jules B. Jeanmard, 26 August 1936, ACDL.

and Anglophone black-identified Americans. Iberia Parish Training School moreover served as an African American social center where during the 1930s and 1940s, national and local jazz and blues bands performed, and students attended annual "Grand Marches" (proms). For the first time in a formal institutionalized educational setting, Creoles socialized with African Americans both at school and out of school hours. Creoles learned how to identify with African American identity and culture, their music, language, mores and faith, but also began to marry non-Catholics more. Creole agencies like the Roman Catholic Church attempted to shape their world – a quickly evolving world to be sure – but despite outside funding, Jeanmard's crusade ultimately failed. St. Edward's closed and with it the Lafayette bishop and his allies in the SBS faced the inevitable consequences of religious, social, and linguistic mixing.[164]

Conclusion

The period from 1927 through 1938 continued the transformative process in Creole communities that began in the immediate World War I years. Greater integration into national culture, industries, and institutions, made English and racial segregation a visible reality, and the once shared cultural world of Creoles continued to unravel. Although Creoles continued to live in the same mixed "racial" geographic spaces, the commonplace associations across the color line which characterized interactions before World War I, now accelerated. As these changes occurred, Creoles began to think of themselves differently, too, identifying more closely with American mainstream culture and expectations. Many whitened Creoles in southwest Louisiana gradually acquiesced to Dudley Leblanc and Susan Walker's Longfellow-scripted Acadian revival because, for

[164] Conrad, *New Iberia*, 447-48.

the first time, *Evangeline*'s version of the Acadian saga generated money, income, and respectability for whitened Creoles of Acadian descent. Hollywood popularized and gave value to the Acadian saga, which in turn promoted Acadian memory for whitened ethnics. Bishop Jeanmard ensured that Catholic education expanded in his diocese. But it failed to compete with the public school building that state taxes provided. More importantly, for black-racialized Creoles, the closing of St. Edward's High School signaled a transition to the mostly Anglophone Protestant public schools in Iberia, Vermilion, and St. Martin Parishes. The flood moreover decimated Louisiana sugarcane and communities. Hundreds of people fled their homes for higher, dry land in the western parishes and in Texas, abandoning Teche country. In all, the population of Creole communities numerically changed as a result of the flood and Depression, and just as they left, the in-migration of Anglophones brought more English and more segregation to Creole communities. By the mid-1930s, southwest Louisiana's Creole communities transformed. They began to look more like other modernizing rural communities throughout America, a trend that only continued as America and Creole southwest Louisiana recovered from the flood and Depression.

Chapter Five: Socioeconomic Recovery, Academia, and Music: Accelerating National Homogenization, 1928-1940s

Introduction

The isolation of the Creole hearth – which characterized the pre-World War I years – gave way to greater integration into mainstream national culture in the 1920s and 1930s. National and international Anglophone Catholic organizations and communities, migrant workers, and the oil industry all came to southwest Louisiana. Improved job opportunities, spiritual guidance, and education all followed. Yet, they did so in the English language and within a culture of racial segregation, which in turn gradually altered Creole communities by making them more culturally American. Federal interventions during and after the Mississippi Flood of 1927 built on these Americanizing processes. Governmental entities from Washington, D.C. to Baton Rouge converged on destitute Creole communities to offer much needed disaster relief assistance like other agents of integration (Hollywood, SBS, and oil workers), the emergency aid agencies simultaneously brought with them racial segregation and English language.

This chapter shows how government projects, academia, and mass popular media after 1927 and during the New Deal, accelerated these same processes through governmental aid, modernization projects, and national music culture. Four men in particular formidably and directly contributed to these changes in Louisiana. Louisiana governor Huey Long's centralizing agenda and consciously populist style built on the precedent of federal interventions during the Flood of 1927 by drawing relatively isolated communities more consciously into broader currents of Louisiana society, which cut through ethnic distinctions in the state and fostered a stronger sense of American

identities (national and racialized). Franklin D. Roosevelt (FDR)'s New Deal enhanced Long's modernizing projects, especially in education. At times, Huey Long attempted to mute New Deal influence, but both ultimately contributed to the modernization of rural Louisiana simultaneously and independently of one another. Academics like James Francis Broussard and folklorist John Lomax, likewise advanced Americanization in southwest Louisiana, which radio and the presence of live national popular music forms influenced still further. Although not directed specifically to Louisiana Creoles, Longism, the New Deal, radio, academia, and music recording, all strengthened greater national homogenization, even if people in southwest Louisiana held plainly quite diverse and oppositional opinions about that process. More specifically, socioeconomic recovery after the flood and during the Depression, like the modernization projects in the late 1910s and early 1920s, Americanized Creole communities.[165]

5.1. The Long Machine and FDR's New Deal

Louisiana governor Huey Long and his supporters controlled Louisiana state government between 1928 and 1940. In 1928, Long rose the ranks of state politics to be elected governor of the state on a consciously populist ticket. His campaign slogan and platform banners during the 1928 gubernatorial campaign read "Every Man a King, But No One Wears a Crown." And this made him exceedingly popular among ordinary

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[165] Dubois and Horvath, "Creoles and Cajuns," 194; Robert Maguire, "Creoles and Creole Language Use in St. Martin Parish, Louisiana," *Cahiers de Géographie du Québec* 23, no. 59 (1979): 283; Early 20th century modernization and urbanization altered other culture hearths, as well. See Meinig, *Southwest*; Walker, *Southern Farmers,* 139-76; Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 2006); Kelley, *Race Rebels*, 77-102; Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: the Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976); Russell Thornton, *American Indian Holocaust and Survival: A Population History Since 1492* (Oklahoma City: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 225-40.

Louisianians. He managed to centralize power in Louisiana in his hands by placing political allies in key governmental seats. In 1932, for instance, Long ensured that his childhood friend, Oscar K. "O.K." Allen replace Huey as Governor when the aptly nicknamed "Kingfish" ran for US Senate instead. O.K. Allen's campaign slogan "Complete the Work" left no doubts about the direction of his government; he vowed to complete the work that Huey had begun. In fact, Louisiana's next three governors – James Albert Noe, Richard Webster Lèche, and Earl Kemp Long – all supported Long's political legacy, as did lieutenant governors, state congressmen and commission leaders through 1940. Assured with political support, Long's coalition delivered his platform's goals and policies while he was governor, senator, and even after his death. Moreover, Longism genuinely appealed to poor people, which helped de-emphasize ethnic distinctions, and re-emphasize socioeconomic recovery and mobility after the Mississippi flood in 1927 and through the Great Depression.[166]

From the outset, Louisiana Creoles reacted to Longism in diverse ways. Congressman Edwin "Coozan Ed" Broussard of New Iberia, who enjoyed considerable popularity among Louisiana Creoles, endorsed Long. While the two campaigned for congressional and gubernatorial seats in 1927, Broussard introduced Long to Louisiana Francophones in the French language at a time when many Creoles did not know English and would have disqualified candidates based on their not speaking French or Creole, alone. Broussard's intervention proved key. In response, many Creoles vowed to vote for Long in the 1928 gubernatorial election, in part because of Broussard's endorsement, but also because, as one scholar observed, "he was a friendly, humorous type who understood that a man had to take a drink now and then or flirt with the girls–

[166] Long, *Every Man a King*, 297n; Williams, *Huey Long*, 276.

just the kind of politician Frenchmen should like." During Broussard and Long's campaign, some Louisiana Francophones even gave the candidate a Creole nickname: Polycarpe, a name of ancient Greek origin meaning "he who produces many fruits." Longism also found support in Harvey Peltier of Thibodaux (Lafourche Parish), who served as Huey Long's campaign manager in 1930 and 1932, and who held the position of the State Senate Floor Leader. Allen J. Ellender, a native of Montégut (Terrebonne Parish) also initially supported Long, as did his birth parish who overwhelmingly voted for Long in the 1928 gubernatorial elections. St. Martin Parish leaders, like Jean-Baptiste "John" Fournet of St. Martinville, also rallied behind Long. In 1931, Long led a parade in St. Martinville – alongside O.K. Allen (then Chairman of the State Highway Commission), and other local, state, and international dignitaries – for the unveiling of the Evangeline statue in the town. [167]

Despite his attempt to capture the Francophone vote and ally himself to the Evangeline myth, not all Creoles supported Long and his followers. During a student conference in 1934, James Francis Broussard, a St. Martinville native, of immense influence in various circles, observed that "Louisiana was under a [Longism] dictatorship and we [citizens] could not expect to get our constitutional rights." For political reasons, animosity also grew between Dudley Leblanc – who led the Louisiana Acadian movement discussed previously – and Huey Long. Their conflict did not reflect a difference in platforms, because they both claimed to work for the poor man. Instead, their chicanery and eventual antipathy lay in political seats that the other sought or

[167] New Orleans *Times-Picayune*, 19 Jun 1930; Baton Rouge *State-Times*, 19 Jun 1930; Shreveport *Journal*, 21 Jun 1930; Herman B. Deutsch, "Kingdom of the Kingfish," in New Orleans *Item*, 7 and 22 Aug 1939; Leo Glenn Touthit, "The Governorship of Huey Long" (MA thes., Tulane University, 1947), 38-39; in Williams, *Huey Long*, 251-52, 303-4, 312, 473, 475, 489, 624; "Unveil Statue of Evangeline At Ceremonial," *The Monroe News-Star*, 20 Apr 1931, pp 1-2.

guarded. Paul Narcisse Çyr, a native of Jeanerette (Iberia Parish), overtly disclaimed and opposed Longites during his tenure as Louisiana Lieutenant Governor, from which position Long had Çyr removed in the State Supreme Court.[168]

Nevertheless, Longism greatly transformed Creole communities as it cut through the state's ethnic identities. One way that Longite projects indirectly Americanized non-Anglophone communities, was through education reform. Long found an able and dynamic partner in the state superintendent of education, Thomas H. Harris. Harris had worked closely with the Louisiana Roman Catholic Church in the early 1920s to oust the renascent Ku Klux Klan from the state. Importantly, Harris, who supported socioeconomic progress in the state, felt that Louisiana could never make significant advances without shifting control over the schools, curricula, and teaching certifications from the civil parish boards to the state. Before 1928, civil parishes provided the greater share of financial support for public schools (75%), and Harris advocated for the state to take over the financial burden in exchange for greater centralization of authority over local parochial school boards, permitting longitudinal change in school progress. The superintendent had unsuccessfully attempted to persuade previous governors to enact the same plan, but now he found support in Huey Long's voracious appetite for centralized power of the state's agencies.[169]

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[168] "Louisiana State Students Blame Kingfish for Gag," *The Courier News* (Blytheville, Ark.), 4 Dec 1934, p 1. Martin, *Coozan Dudley LeBlanc*, 54-150; Sindler, *Huey Long's Louisiana*, 51; Deutsch, "Kingdom of the Kingfish," 3 and 7 Aug 1939; Williams, *Huey Long*, 254, 353-4, 368-69.

[169] Guy C. Mitchell, "The Growth of State Control of Public Education in Louisiana" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1942), 342-43, 357-58, 501; Alan Brinkley, *Voices of Protest: Huey Long, Father Coughlin, & the Great Depression* (New York: Vintage, 1983), 24; T. Harry Williams, *Huey Long* (New York: Vintage, 1981), 549.

Taxes to Expand Education

To this end, Huey Long acted swiftly to devise several plans to not only seize control over the state schools, but also to extend the academic calendar and upgrade the quality of education in schools, too. He achieved this through levying new taxes to fund education. In 1928, shortly after being elected governor, Long personally drafted a tax law providing a tax on malt syrups. Proceeds from the malt syrup tax went directly to the state's school equalization fund, an instrument used to standardize educational provisions in public schools. The tax proved to generate insufficient funds, however. So in 1930, Long had the legislature enact an additional one cent tax on gasoline. Half of the proceeds went directly to the equalization fund to compensate for the earlier tax's shortcomings.[170]

Long's governorship ended in 1932, but his tenure as senator and legacy after his death in 1935, ensured that the state of Louisiana continued to fund education abundantly and to empower the poor through access to better quality modern American education. Here, "modern American education" refers to what students nationwide in 1939 complained of in The National Student Survey: less theory, more vocational and specialized cultural studies. One student bemoaned public education heretofore, when he stated "We are getting too much theory that we cannot use in finding a job when we step from college into a world crowded with unemployed." Education, they felt, should render the 20th century student enrolled in American public schools "atuned to the world of today, modernized." Long's education reform did just that in Louisiana, and state taxes

[170] Mitchell, "The Growth of State Control," 348, 350-3, 354, 362-5, 390-91, 513; T. H. Harris, *The Memoirs of T. H. Harris: Superintendent of Public Education in Louisiana, 1908-1940* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Bureau of Educational Materials and Research, 1963), 126-30; John Klorer, ed., *New Louisiana: The Story of the Greatest State of the Nation* (New Orleans: Franklin Printing Company, 1936), 166; Williams, *Huey Long*, 550.

funded the modernized curriculum. In 1934, Long revised a property tax relief fund bill providing that for each $10.25 entering the fund, $3.50 would go to schools, which totaled up to $2.5 million dollars a year in increased support for Louisiana schools. By 1935, the state assumed responsibility for 60% of the total cost of public education and pledged a minimum annual investment of around $10 million dollars into the school system.[171]

With control over education, the state could finally implement the changes that Harris and Long hoped for in the 1920s, including new certification requirements for Louisiana school teachers, extending the length of academic school year, and teacher salaries. By 1934, the state department of education reported that over 92% of teachers had received two or more years of professional education beyond high school. The state demanded that the school year be longer and that civil parishes establish a minimum wage for teachers. Teacher certification carried immense importance, because it guaranteed a more standardized, American approach to educating students enrolled in Louisiana schools. It meant that what teachers in Breaux Bridge public schools taught

[171] "Collegiana Wants Much More Practical Curriculum," *The Daily Tar Heel*, 20 May 1939, pp 1, 4. Hamett Thomas Kane, *Huey Long's Louisiana Hayride* (Gretna, LA: Pelican Publishing, 1971), 141, 437; "Education," *Huey Long: the Man, his Mission, and Legacy*, website, accessed 21 March 2015, http://www.hueylong.com/programs/education.php; "Harris Answers Long's Claim in Textbook Scrap," *Monroe News-Star*, 7 October 1927, p 6. See also "Long Seized Power in '28 as Governor," *The Times*, 17 September 1935, p 3; "The Long Long Trail Crumbling? Huey Long's Rise to Power Traced," *Lancaster Eagle-Gazette*, 11 June 1959, 12; "Huey Long was a living legend in Louisiana," *San Bernardino County Sun*, 18 April 1976, p 28; "Long's Efforts Helped, But ... Louisiana Still Has Highest Illiteracy Rate," *Pampa Daily News*, p 8; "Louisiana Has Highest Illiteracy Race in the United States," *Brownsville Herald*, 18 June 1975, p 4; Huey P. Long, *Every Man A King* (New Orleans: National Book Co., 1933), 106-122; Allan P. Sindler, *Huey Long's Louisiana: State Politics 1920-1952* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1956), 57-61, 104; Brinkley, *Voices of Protest*, 24, 31; "8 New Special Taxes Enacted By Legislature," *Monroe News-Star*, 11 July 1934, p 1; *New York Times*, 28 October, 18 December 1934; *Louisiana Progress*, 17 April 1930; Arthur M. Shlesinger, Jr., *The Politics of Upheaval* (Houghton Mifflin Company, 1960), 59-60; Raymond Moley, *27 Masters of Politics in a Personal Perspective* (Funk & Wagnalls, 1949), 223; For a table of state appropriations to schools from 1921 to 1935, see *American Progress*, November 1935; Harris, *Memoirs*, 125-26, 159; Mitchell, "The Growth of State Control," 440-41, 443; Williams, *Huey Long*, 322-23; 551.

mirrored what students learned in English-speaking Monroe (Ouachita Parish) and Shreveport (Caddo Parish). [172]

Longites equally altered the student experience and relieved parents of immediate out-of-pocket burdens, which greatly impacted impoverished Louisiana families, Creoles included. Before Long, students enrolled in schools in Louisiana purchased their own textbooks. Long's platform called for the state to provide the books for the students. Never one to miss a promotional opportunity, Huey managed to show concern to – and enamor – Louisiana Creoles directly on the issue of the state providing better education to its citizens. In 1927, he stood beneath the famed Evangeline Oak in St. Martinville, and appealed to newfound romanticism to capture the Louisiana Creole audience, when he stated that "under this oak [...] Evangeline waited for her lover, Gabriel." He noted the immortality of the oak, but took the opportunity to point out that "Evangeline is not the only one who has waited here in disappointment." The citizens of Louisiana expressed disappointment, too: "Where are the schools that you have waited for your children to have, that have never come," he asked the crowd. "Evangeline wept bitter tears in her disappointment," he added, "but it lasted through only one lifetime." Louisiana Creoles, like Louisiana Anglophones, their "tears in this country, around this oak, have lasted for generations." Free, standardized, English language textbooks Long produced could enable board certified teachers to provide standardized education in the state. Equipped with English-language textbooks, Louisiana's children might – Long presumed – gain standardized instruction even further through board certified teachers

[172] Ibid.

just like other school-aged students throughout the United States. Printed, standardized textbooks would give value and a sense of validity to the state's curriculum.[173]

Long's cry for standardized textbooks for Louisiana schools fell far from visionary. Citizens and policymakers had hoped for free standardized books for schools since the 1920s, and the federal board of education in the early 1930s endorsed the idea with favorable results. According to news reports in 1927, state governments unsuccessfully attempted to publish their own textbooks used in their schools. In fact, 60 publishers situated throughout the United States, including the federal publisher in California, printed school textbooks through the 1920s and 1930s, and printed $39 million dollars worth of textbooks in 1931. As one Pennsylvania newspaper editor in 1931 pointed out, "school books cost less than is paid for chewing gum" in an editorial promoting the adoption of more books for schools. In 1932, the West Virginia state board of education adopted new textbooks in English, history, reading, and civics; key courses to inculcate core American values upon the malleable minds of grade school children. The American Education Week, an "annual celebration of American ideals" in schools dating back to 1921, would have more meaningful and immediate impact through the growth of free, widely accessed textbooks in schools after the 1930s. West Virginia's state tax commissioner, J.C. Townsend, opposed his state's move to standardized school textbooks fearing the exploitation of West Virginians with more financial burden. But Huey Long in Louisiana devised an ingenuous plan to dodge the

[173] Long, *Every Man A King*, 99; New Orleans *States*, 4 Nov 1927; Williams, *Huey Long*, 288.

issue of more taxes on the masses, joining states nationwide in distributing standardized, federally-printed books for Louisiana schools. [174]

In 1928, the free state-issued textbooks discussion in Louisiana became reality; Huey Long introduced standardized American education school books in both public and private schools in the state. The Free-Books Act, which Long personally crafted, passed with little debate by large majorities in both Louisiana state legislative houses, provided an appropriation of $750,000 a year to provide the books to children in elementary and secondary schools. Funding originated in a state severance tax on natural resources. The act specifically included state and private schools of all grade levels. Long protested the state's current laws which prohibited appropriation of state funds to religious institutions. The Roman Catholic Church operated the majority of private schools in the state, a point which Long raised. He skirted around the current law's prohibition of funds to religious institutions by pointing out that "the state was not providing books to *schools*, but to *children*." Schools merely served as distribution points, and he argued to the state legislature that "books for children attending private schools go in the act." The act directly impacted Americans and Creoles alike, and relieved religious institutions and organizations of the financial burdens of funding education in Louisiana. Katherine Drexel's religious order, the SBS, faced its own pressures. The national organization already encountered extraordinary financial debt due to its activities

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[174] "States Fail In Publishing Textbooks," *The Anniston Star* (Anniston, Alab.), 10 Sept 1927, p 5; "School Books Cost Less Than Is Paid For Chewing Gum," *The Daily Courier* (Connellsville, Penn.), 5 May 1931, p 1; "Petition For Free Books In City Schools," *The Kokomo Tribune* (Kokomo, Ind.), 8 Sept 1938, p 1; "School Textbook Row," *The Emporia Gazette* (Emporia, Kans.), 11 Oct 1938, p 2; "Townsend Attacks Board's New Changes In Textbooks," *The Charleston Daily Mail* (Charleston, West Virginia), 23 Jun 1932, pp 1, 10; "Free School Textbooks," *Portsmouth Daily Times* (Portsmouth, Ohio), 25 Sept 1929, p 24; "High School Textbook Adoption," *The Graphic* (Nashville, N.C.), 6 Mar 1924, p 4; "Tries To Avoid Textbook Shortage," *The Granbury News* (Granbury, Tex.), 24 Aug 1923, p 2; "What It Means American Education Week," *The Evening News* (Sault Sainte Marie, Mich.), 4 Nov 1939, p 4.

in south Louisiana, and the foundress prepared herself to withdraw contributions to many parochial schools along the Teche. Huey Long's education reform came at the perfect time.[175]

Between 1928 and 1934, Long's education reforms altered academic experience and access in further ways. In addition to textbooks, Long provided paper, pencils, erasers, and state-supported school busses. As Louisiana governor, his brother, Earl K. Long, offered free hot lunches to students in school and forced equal pay for teachers of color. In a largely illiterate state, Huey Long claimed that his education reform increased literacy by more than 25%, and the schools reached 100,000 of the state's 238,000 illiterates, teaching them to "read, write, and cipher," as Long put it. By the 1940s, state taxes provided the schools with a minimum of $20 million dollars a year.[176]

Grade School Growth

Long's influence on southwest Louisiana mirrored his larger statewide initiatives but the state's greater role in providing English-language textbooks and teachers had a still greater cultural impact. Bayou Teche area civil parish schools grew as a result of Longism and the Anglophone faculty they recruited from outside of the region and state brought American culture to Creole communities. In 1928, Lafayette Parish rapidly began to expand educational facilities after voting a bond issue of $1 million dollars to retire old schools (or enlarge them) and to construct new ones. From the bond issue, the civil parish built several elementary schools, like N.P. Moss in Lafayette, and a few high

[175] T.H. Harris, *Memoirs of T. H. Harris* (Baton Rouge, 1963), 125-26; Sindler, *Huey Long's Louisiana*, 58-9; Guy C. Mitchell, "The Growth of State Control of Public Education in Louisiana" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1942), 440-1, 443; in Williams, *Huey Long*, 323.

[176] Ibid.

schools, including one at Judice and another at Youngsville. During this period, the Iberia Parish School Board built the Iberia Parish Training School (IPTS) for nonwhites, the first – and only – public high school in the parish for all nonwhites (Creole and American), and one of the only public elementary schools.[177]

The New Deal, a federal program of relief agencies enacted by FDR, built on Long's school building projects through the Public Works Administration (PWA). The agency built 17 new high schools throughout Louisiana, though none in Teche Country. PWA did build a handful of elementary schools in southwest Louisiana, however, and made improvements to others. In 1939, PWA built, among other facilities, the one-room Patout School "for Negroes" in Patoutville (Iberia Parish) and a heating plant for the Peebles School for whites, also located in Iberia Parish and completed in 1939.[178]

However, PWA's large-scale influence along the Teche corridor lay in improvements to existing white-only schools, which paved the way for structural inequalities based on race. In 1939, it financed the construction of two large two-story additions to the public high school for whites in New Iberia, in addition to the Charles M. Bahon Gymnasium, band room, and a home economics cottage. The New Iberia High School, by 1939, boasted of an impressive modern academic and vocational curriculum, including modern languages, history, science, mathematics, music, industrial arts, and physical education. The school also boasted the oldest library in a public high school in Louisiana with nearly 2,000 books.[179]

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[177] Griffin, *Attakapas Country*, 98; Sandra E. Egland, "An Historical Overview of Afro-Americans in New Iberia, 1865-1960," in Conrad, *New Iberia*, 446-47.

[178] Robert D. Leighninger Jr., *Building Louisiana: The Legacy of the Public Works Administration* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2009), 78, 232, 246.

[179] Ibid.; *New Iberia Enterprise*, 9 Sept 1943; Metayer, "New Iberia High School," 40-41, in Conrad, *New Iberia*, 397.

Access to education grew for Louisiana residents, but the provision – while separate for black and white-racialized students remained unequal. According to Bishop Jeanmard, public education for nonwhites bordered deplorable conditions. "Our [colored] people, poor though they are," he wrote, "pay their school taxes like the rest; our children, counted in every year, when the per educable tax is being apportioned, are all but counted out when it is distributed among the public schools of [Lafayette] Parish." For the bishop, if "it were not for the six Catholic schools in Lafayette Parish, with their enrollment of over 1300," only a handful of blackened Lafayetters would know how to read and write. Each time blackened citizens approached the Lafayette Parish (Public) School Board to address the issues, the latter's representatives turned them around "with the none-too-assuring words that the situation would be looked into," but never was.[180]

Specific data on the curriculum and student body in the new Longite segregated schools are unavailable, however the staff and bussing of these southwest Louisiana segregated schools may offer clues. In Iberia Parish, educational leaders at IPTS came from English-speaking and Protestant backgrounds, and binary racialization placed all staff members in the black caste. Jonas Henderson, an English-speaking Baptist minister and former head of the private Anglophone Baptist Howe Institute, served as principal at IPTS and received an M.A. at Leland College, a private Baptist institution operated by the District Baptist Missionary Association in Baker, Louisiana. Alcibiade B. Simon, an Anglophone who also served as principal of IPTS during its first decade, came from a Baptist American and Creole family. The Howe Institute, under Henderson's tutelage,

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[180] "Bishop Jeanmard Pays Tribute to Patriotism of Negro Soldiers," Lafayette *Daily Advertiser*, 14 Mar 1941, 2; in May, *The Official Policy*, 14.

had provided a rich crop of blackened Baptist and Congregational Anglophone teachers for the future public schools, including Henderson's son, John Berry "J.B." Henderson, and Ruth Robertson Sophus. Its leaders therefore spoke and taught in English and brought Anglophone cultural values to the classroom. Ruth Robertson Sophus recalled that "it was difficult to find local people who were certified to fill the teaching positions," so the school board hired educators from elsewhere in the Anglophone South.[181]

Given that IPTS's staff overwhelmingly originated in American culture, it can be deduced that IPTS's curriculum mirrored that of other blackened American public schools throughout the South. First, a statewide religious institution, the District Baptist Missionary Association educated Jonas Henderson, and he educated the future staff of IPTS at the Howe Institute, which the district association owned and operated. After secondary training in New Iberia at the Howe, students studied at Leland College, to which the Howe served as a feeder school. The district association itself was part of the Louisiana Missionary Baptist State Convention, which, although an autonomous entity, was (and still is) a member of the National Baptist Convention USA, Inc., a national convention of black-identified Baptists.

Unlike in the white-only schools in Teche Country, the black-only school curriculum mirrored that of black public schools elsewhere, shaping the education and subsequent opportunities of people of color enrolled. Historically, throughout the South, Baptist missionary schools reassured white-identified Southerners that they would teach a "practical" education to benefit local industries (especially agriculture). As Adam

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[181] Egland, "An Historical Overview," in Conrad, *New Iberia*, 446-47. Jonas Henderson reported his parents being natives of South Carolina in the 1910 census and speaking only English. See: 1910 U.S. census, Iberia Parish, Louisiana, population schedule, New Iberia ward 2, enumeration district 18, sheet 3B, Ancestry.com page 6, dwelling 1250, Jonas Henderson; digital image, *Ancestry.com* (http://www.ancestry.com: accessed 3 Jun 2015).

Fairclough has observed, "there would be few books" and "their lessons would be practical rather than academic, dispensing 'training'–the preferred term–rather than education." The name of Iberia Parish's first large public school for nonwhites, the Iberia Parish *Training* School, leaves little doubt in the institution's curricular focus. The vocational or practical curriculum educated students of color in similar ways. Ethnic distinctions inevitably collapsed in the classroom with teachers absorbing non-Americans into (blackened) American culture. The merging of Creoles and Americans in these black-only public schools impacted Creole and American social practices, a topic which will be discussed in chapter six.[182]

Post-Secondary Education Expansion - James Broussard

Huey Long's influence during the 1930s at Louisiana State University (LSU) in Baton Rouge, south Louisiana's premier white-only collegiate level public institution, was unequivocal and far-reaching and directly empowered the growth of postsecondary specialized cultural studies. In 1934, LSU President Dr. James Monroe Smith observed that "Senator Long is virtually the dictator of the university [LSU]." Indeed. Long feverishly expanded educational facilities at the university first as governor and later as senator. In 1930, Long wrote to then-university president Smith to "go ahead with your buildings" and "get your architects and start on what you need." By 1939, LSU sold over $4 million dollars worth of land to the state Highway Commission and an additional $350,000 to the new state capitol, both of which Long controlled. LSU then used the

[182] Fairclough, *Class of their Own*, 139, 148, 304, 403; Rev. Calvin W. Woods Jr., *Historical Highlights of the Louisiana Baptist Missionary Association* (Louisiana Baptist Missionary Association, 2013), 1-16; "Directories," *The National Baptist Convention USA, Inc.*, website accessed 7 Jun 2015, http://www.nationalbaptist.com/departments/state-conventions.html.

proceeds to fund the building projects. Through these funds, the university acquired a brand new (white-only) medical school, a music and arts department that housed up to 80 grand pianos–surpassing any other music school in the South. Due to Long's influence, LSU also saw numerous other facilities erected: a fine arts building, many dormitories for young women, a gymnasium, an enlarged football stadium, student center, and many, many other buildings and programs. He wanted LSU to be the largest and most modern university in the world, an idea which some staff members already believed. One administrator noted that "the psychological effect [of LSU's growth] was tremendous" and "we were no longer a little college stuck off down here but a first-class school or on the way to it."[183]

Whitened Creoles had been important during Long's campaign years, but supporting their upward mobility at LSU proved equally beneficial to Long's desire to educate Louisianians and offer modern postsecondary education in the state. For example, St. Martinville Creole, James Francis Broussard, served in numerous important administrative capacities at LSU between 1918 and 1940, including Acting-President in 1934, Dean of Administration, Head of the Romance Languages Department, Chairman on the Faculty Committee of Student Publications, Vice-President of the Southeastern [Sports] Conference, Chairman of the Athletic Council. [184]

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[183] Long, *Every Man A King*, 247-49; New Orleans *States*, 4 Jan 1931; Baton Rouge *State-Times*, 21 Apr 1931, 8 Jun 1931, in Williams, *Huey Long*, 545-47; *American Progress*, 14 Dec 1933; Long, *Every Man a King*, 246-249; Klorer, *New Louisiana*, 18-19, 165-66, 205-06; Tom Wallace series on Huey Long, Boston *Globe*, 4-9 March 1935; Roberts, *Lake Pontchartrain*, 338-339; Don Wharton, "Louisiana State University," *Scribner's* 102 (Sept., 1937): 35-39; Brinkley, *Voices of Protest*, 30-31.

[184] "State School's Appointments Now Approved," *The Monroe News-Star* (Monroe, La.), 19 Jun 1931, p 3; "Louisiana State Students Blame Kingfish for Gag," *The Courier News* (Blytheville, Ark.), 4 Dec 1934, p 1.

Broussard exercised great influence by encouraging the exoticization of Louisiana heritage languages as archaic and limited relics of the past, and by strengthening ties with France and European French, which itself associated Louisiana Francophones with respectable whiteness. He did this in three ways. First, he spared no time in highlighting that upwardly mobile whitened Creoles in the state spoke European French. In 1921, before the Johnson-Reed Act (Immigration Act), he and Lucien Fournon published *Pour Parler Français*, a student manual for learning French in Louisiana. Page three of the manual is particularly useful in understanding Fournon and Broussard's motives: *Léon et Henri viennent de la Louisiane où il y a beaucoup d'*Américains *qui sont descendants de Français [...] Les Louisianais ont gardé la langue française tout en apprenant la langue du pays*. That is, Léon and Henri are from Louisiana where many *Americans* descend from *Frenchmen*. Louisianians (by which Broussard meant Francophones) retained the French language while simultaneously learning the language of the nation [English]. In 1921, as discussed in previous chapters, most Creoles still did not speak English, but Broussard and Fournon certainly hoped to give that impression. Why? [185]

Referring to Louisiana Creoles as "Americans" of French descent (speaking European French) served an implicit and cunning purpose. It dissociated from the stigma of blackness and inferiority. French indigenous to Louisiana (Louisiana French) had come to increasingly signify low class, uneducated, and distaste for all things American. Indeed, many Americans came to understand Creole as meaning of African descent, a point which surfaced soon after the 1803 Louisiana purchase/sale. That Americans attributed the epithet "Cajun" to swarthy-skinned Louisiana Creoles and to Alabama

[185] Lucien Fournon and James Francis Broussard, *Pour Parler Français: With Conversation, Grammar Reviews, Drills and Composition* (New York: D. C. Heath & Co. Publishers, 1921), 3-4. My emphasis.

"tri-racial isolates" in Mobile and Washington Counties, only exacerbated association of the term with blackness and inferiority. In 1925, the state of Alabama indicted Daniel Reed, for instance, for marrying a white woman. His defense argued that "his descent was from the Cajun," which they claimed "was from an admixture of Arcadian, Indian, and Spanish" people. In fact, Reed had no Acadian ancestry and "Cajun" had been applied to so-called "isolate communities" by one white-identified Alabama senator named L.W. McRae. Reed attempted to whiten himself by using "Cajun" in his defense and achieved the opposite result. The Alabama Supreme Court indicted him on miscegenation charges. Through association with France and European French, Louisiana Creoles could in effect assert – if not implicitly prove – their whiteness. Frenchmen are Europeans, speak a European language, and Europeans are white, it followed.[186]

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[186] Hirsch and Logsdon, *Creole New Orleans: Race and Americanization*; Domínguez, *White By Definition: Social Classification in Creole New Orleans*; Jacqueline Anderson Matte, "Extinction by Reclassification: The MOWA Choctaws of South Alabama and Their Struggle for Federal Recognition," *The Alabama Review* 59 (Jul., 2006): 163-204; ibid., *They Say the Wind Is Red: The Alabama Choctaw - Lost in Their Own Land* (NewSouth Books, 2012); Laura Frances Murphy, "Among the Cajans of Alabama," *Missionary Voice* (Nov., 1930): 22; Laura Frances Murphy, "Mobile County Cajans," *Alabama Historical Quarterly* 1 (Spring 1930): 76–86; Laura Frances Murphy, "The Cajans at Home," *Alabama Historical Quarterly* 2 (Winter, 1940): 416–27; ibid., "The Cajans of Mobile County, Alabama" (MA thes., Scarritt College, 1935); Horace Mann Bond, "Two Racial Islands in Alabama," *American Journal of Sociology* 36 (Jan., 1931): 552–67; R. Clay Bailey, "The Strange Case of the Cajuns," *Alabama School Journal* 48 (Apr., 1931): 8; Clatis Green, "Some Factors Influencing Cajun Education in Washington County, Alabama," (MA thes., University of Alabama, 1941); Edward T. Price Jr., "Mixed-Blood Populations of Eastern United States as to Origins, Localizations, and Persistence" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1950); Bibb Bowles Huffstutler, "Oral Anomalies in School Children of an American Triracial Isolate: A Frequency Study" (MA thes., University of Alabama at Birmingham, 1965); Richard Severo, "The Lost Tribe of Alabama," *Scanlan's Monthly*, March 1970, 81–88; B. Eugene Griessman, "The American Isolates," *American Anthropologist* n.s. 74 (Jun., 1972): 693–94; B. Eugene Griessman and Curtis T. Henson Jr., "The History and Social Topography of an Ethnic Island in Alabama" (paper, annual meeting of the Southern Sociological Society, Atlanta, Georgia, 1974); Gary Minton and B. Eugene Griessman, "The Formation and Development of an Ethnic Group: The 'Cajans' of Alabama" (paper, annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Mexico City, November 19, 1974), available though the Education Resources Information Center, ERIC No. ED133119; George Harry Stopp Jr., "The Impact of the 1964 Civil Rights Act on an Isolated 'Tri-Racial' Group" (MA thes., University of Alabama,

Although Fournon and Broussard attempted to bind the term Acadian to American (of French descent), the two writers eagerly strove to elevate French-language heritage. On page four of Fournon and Broussard's text, the association with certain social classes and manners of speech (which also imply racial caste) becomes more apparent. In the dialog, Léon Dupont proposes to his childhood friend Henri Legrand to only speak to one another in French at least everyday for thirty minutes in order to preserve their [French] language alongside English. But Léon proposed that they also no longer refer to one another with the familiar form *tu* and use the formal *vous* instead: "this way," Léon announced, "we will come off more educated." The entire dialog goes on to show how Henri and Léon achieve their goal of upward mobility through speaking, reading, and writing European French, especially by mastering the complex literary and spoken tenses of European French verbs, much of which, one way or another, Louisiana Francophones reduced.[187]

Broussard took even greater steps at broadening the learning of European French in Louisiana. Not only did he attempt to show the class value to metropolitan French, but he sought to link "standard" French speakers with Europe and its corollary: whiteness. In 1932, under his tutelage, LSU established a French Fellowship program, which provided graduate studies to a female French graduate student from the Université de Paris on an annual basis. LSU explained that "the award is established in appreciation of the close racial ties which unite France and Louisiana." The French government also annually offered the same award to "a Louisiana student of French extraction." Broussard

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1971); Calvin L. Beale, "An Overview of the Phenomenon of Mixed Racial Isolates in the United States," *American Anthropologist* 74 (Jun., 1972): 704–10.

[187] Fournon and Broussard, *Pour Parler Français*, 4. For a similar manual published by New Orleans Creoles in the same period, see Simone de la Souchère Deléry and Gladys Anne Renshaw, *France d'Amérique* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1932).

also fostered excursions for LSU students in Paris. In 1934, he proposed the construction of the Maison Française, a center on LSU's campus. The Louisiana Legislature allocated $75,000 for the project and the Maison officially opened in September 1935. The center served as both a Francophone and Francophile meeting point on campus, a Francophone immersion center, and residence hall for women. Anita Olivier Morrison, a whitened Creole, served as the center's first head resident, and oversaw the center's operations until 1959. In 1934, the French government bestowed upon Broussard the title of *chevalier* in the Légion d'honneur for his promotion of continued Franco-Louisiana relations and French language studies. [188]

At LSU, Broussard recruited other whitened Creoles students to his department to undertake diverse cultural and linguistic masters degrees on Latin Louisiana. These works presented Louisiana French and Louisiana Creole as cultural relics of the past and representative of otherness and blackness. They also helped institutionalize notions of broken (native) and good (European) French. Over 15 of these masters theses focused on linguistic and cultural particularities of Louisiana French and Louisiana Creole languages. In 1933, for instance, St. Martinville Creole Charles Joseph Bienvenu, titled his thesis "The Negro-French Dialect of St. Martin Parish," and stated that "The purpose of the thesis is to present accurately the language of these Negroes as spoken today and to establish, through the formulas, a background of superstition and folk-lore." However, he benefitted from both whitened and blackened Creoles for the project, and acknowledged both in the introduction to the thesis. Creole had acquired an association

[188] "French Fellowship Awarded By L.S.U.," *The Ruston Daily Leader* (Ruston, La.), 10 May 1932, p 2; "Going to Italy," *Monroe Morning World* (Monroe, La.), 15 May 1938, p 12; Gertrude M. Beauford Papers, 1936-1981, Special Collections, Louisiana State University Hill Memorial Library, Biographical/Historical Note; "Broussard Named To Make Address," *Monroe News-Star*, 14 May 1935, p 1.

with blackness. Later, in 1942, James Broussard published his own work on the language, titled "Louisiana Creole dialect," which strengthened an association of the language with blackness. Bienvenu and Broussard, as well as other researchers, knew that whitened Creoles also spoke the language maternally but the focus lay on exoticizing the "Negro French" dialect as black and inferior.[189]

Instead, whitened Creoles would be characterized separately, and differently from their blackened brethren. For whitened Creoles, Broussard and his ilk attributed distance from European French as a reflection of their social class and mingling with blackened people. In 1934, linguist George Lane identified two dialects of French spoken in St. Martinville, and distinguished each based on class and whiteness. One he referred to as "Standard (Louisiana-)French," spoken by "many of the more cultivated whites." The second he called "Negro French." Lane drew nomenclature and definitions from Alcée Fortier, who stated that: "[t]he lower class [of white Creoles] speak the Acadian French mixed with Creole patois (= Negro-French)." Lane's study on Louisiana French, like those of the many masters theses Broussard supervised, sought to elucidate "the peculiarities of Standard Louisiana-French as contrasted with standard French of France-that is French as spoken in normally cultured circles in France." Cultural proximity to blackness left both the people and their speech corrupted and low class. The cultural distance between European French and Louisiana French appeared repetitively in Broussard's students' work. Time and again, they objectified Louisiana Creole as

[189] Charles Joseph Bienvenu, "The Negro-French Dialect of St. Martin Parish" (MA thes., Louisiana State University, 1933). Lane, "Notes on Louisiana-French," *Language* 11, no. 1 (Mar., 1935): 323-333.

different, alien, "other" with students compiling glossaries o linguistic variants between the two linked – but distant – languages.[190]

The detailed work of Broussard's students masked the fundamental similarities of metropolitan and Louisiana French with the language of racial difference. Indeed, the variants of French spoken by both blackened and whitened Creoles quickly declined before their very eyes; like the polyglot elite Creoles, the lesser privileged Creoles and their speech varieties increasingly succumbed to Americanization. Lane observed that the last Francophone newspaper in St. Martinville, *Évangéline*, discontinued in 1908 after which local editors and proprietors published in English. The year 1908 held significance, "as that of the final victory of the English language over the French in Louisiana, for even in St. Martinville it has suffered great losses in the last twenty-five

[190] Lane, "Notes on Louisiana-French," 323. Broussard supervised the following theses during and after the Long years: Eugène Oliver Bourgeois, "Creole Dialect" (MA thes., Louisiana State University, 1927); Sidney Joseph Durand, "A Phonetic study of the Creole dialect" (MA thes., Louisiana State University, 1930); Charles Joseph Bienvenu, "The Negro-French Dialect of St. Martin Parish" (MA thes., Louisiana State University, 1933); Lorene Marie Bernard, "A Study of Louisiana French in Lafayette Parish" (MA thes., Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, 1933); Audrey B. Viator, "A Glossary of neolgisms, loan-words and variants from standard French in the Parish of St. John the Baptist," (MA thes., Louisiana State University, 1935); Marie Alice Dugas, "A Glossary of the variants from standard French used in the Parish of St. James" (MA thes., Louisiana State University, 1935); Bertrand François de Blanc, "A Glossary of variants from standard French found in Saint Martin Parish, Louisiana" (MA thes., Louisiana State University, 1935); Hosea Philips, "A Glossary of the variants from standard French used in Evangeline Parish" (MA thes., Louisiana State University, 1935); Lucie M. Trahan, "Etymological glossary of the variants from standard French in Assumption Parish" (MA thes., Louisiana State University, 1936); John Guilbeau, "A Glossary of Variants From Standard French in La Fourche Parish," (MA thes., Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, 1936); Louise V. Olivier, "A Glossary of variants from standard French in St. Landry Parish" (MA thes., Louisiana State University, 1937); Lawrence J. Babin, "A Glossary of French spoken on Grand Isle" (MA thes., Louisiana State University, 1937); Harry M. Hurst, "A Glossary of the French spoken in St. Charles Parish" (MA thes., Louisiana State University, 1937); Samuel L. Jeansonne, "A Glossary of words that vary from standard French in Avoyelles Parish," (MA thes., Louisiana State University, 1938); Charles Chaudoir, "A Study of the Grammar of the Avoyelles French Dialect," (MA thes., Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, 1938); Ervin L. Granier, "A Glossary of the French spoken in St. John the Baptist Parish," (MA thes., Louisiana State University, 1939); Maud Marie Trappey, "The French speech of Iberia Parish," (MA thes., Louisiana State University, 1940); Frances M. Hickman, "The French speech of Jefferson Parish," (MA thes., Louisiana State University, 1940).

years," Lane observed. Linking the two languages (Louisiana French and Louisiana Creole) with culture on the wane was not novel. In 1933, Bienvenu identified that Louisiana Creole "seems to be passing through a transition period," and attributed certain features of Louisiana Creole to Americanization. George Lane made similar observations in 1931. "The anglicisms used by natives of say twenty-five to thirty years of age are much more numerous than those used by speakers between the ages of fifty and sixty." As with other linguistic communities, that generation of bilinguals influenced older generations of monolinguals who also began using Anglicisms. Emphasizing the historicity and declining influence of Louisiana's indigenous varieties sat well with the work of cultural revivalists like Dudley Leblanc and white-identified Americans, who expressed a clear desire to memorialize the past, but not relive it. For his part, Broussard embraced metropolitan French but he nourished Theodore Roosevelt's "melting pot nation" concept discussed in chapter two: many ethnicities converged to create one (white) American people, but blackened people all over the world speaking new colonial-made languages by virtue of their African descent.[191]

Despite Long's proclaimed desire to provide modern educational facilities for Louisianians, he excluded Southern University in Baton Rouge, and other universities and colleges in Louisiana for nonwhites from his expansion, leaving those institutions in slum-like conditions. The introduction of federal aid, however, reversed this tendency. In 1927, the failing ceiling at Southern University's gymnasium injured several students. That year, Southern officials petitioned PWA for a new gym, which the agency approved. Through PWA, Southern gained Mumford Stadium, Bradford Hall,

[191] Lane, "Notes on Louisiana-French," *Language* 11, no. 1 (Mar., 1935): 324, 326; Bienvenu, "The Negro-French Dialect," iv.

Grandison Hall, and two dormitories. In total, the historic African American university received over $47,000 in funding from PWA for its enhancements. Southern's case was important. It demonstrated the lack of adequate modern facilities and curriculum, like in the grade schools, for people of African descent but it also indicated that federal agencies could improve the lives of black-racialized people. White schools (grade through post-secondary levels), by contrast, boasted impressive facilities, curricula, and libraries. Creoles attending these schools fell prey to class distinctions, but the disjunctive facilities – and the investment in them – showed dealing to black-racialized Creoles that segregation – rather than unity – now defined the American classroom. Disparaged for their languages and dialects, blackened Creoles came out of the Long and New Deal education programs as black-racialized subjects. Ethnically different from African Americans – many still spoke French and Creole and practiced Catholicism – Creoles of color increasingly faced alienation and exclusion. Dudley Leblanc's Evangeline girls, by contrast, encountered inclusion – albeit as rural rustics living on the American mainland.[192]

Infrastructure

Modernized infrastructure ranked high on Long's list of priorities. Roads and highways provided modern avenues into and out of southwest Louisiana, linking Creole communities to the nation. And just like the earlier road construction projects of the 1920s, asphalt laying in the 1930s transformed Creole communities through greater

[192] Long, *Every Man a King*, 246-249; Klorer, *New Louisiana*, 18-19, 165-66, 205-06; Tom Wallace series on Huey Long, Boston *Globe*, 4-9 March 1935; Roberts, *Lake Pontchartrain*, 338-339; Don Wharton, "Louisiana State University," *Scribner's* 102 (Sept., 1937): 35-39; Brinkley, *Voices of Protest*, 30-31; Robert Leighninger, "Public Works Architecture," *KnowLA Encyclopedia of Louisiana*, ed. David Johnson, Louisiana Endowment for the Humanities, 1 Feb 2011, website, http://www.knowla.org/entry/495/, accessed 1 Jun 2015; Ibid., *Building Louisiana*, 94, 256.

exposure and physical connection to modern American society. Before 1927, Louisiana had no more than 300 miles of concrete roads, around forty miles of asphalt roads, and nearly 6,000 miles of gravel roads. As state residents put it, Louisiana remained "in the mud," because its roads mostly lacked concrete or asphalt and motorists often got stuck in mud holes on the dirt roads. In 1928, Long pushed through a bond issue to finance a three-year paved road project that built 2,750 miles of roads throughout Louisiana – some of which directly cut through Teche Country – by taxing 1¢ to the gasoline industry (see image 1). Two roads in particular, which later became Louisiana highway 90 and Interstate 10, directly connected rural southwest Louisiana to major cities in Louisiana, like Baton Rouge and New Orleans, but also to the entire nation. The project built on, and expanded, Susan Walker's north-to-south national highway project and the Old Spanish Trail Commission's west-to-east highway, from the late 1910s and early 1920s. The commission equally included 750 miles of graveled roads for farming communities.[193]

The paved and graveled road project proved vital to the success of modernizing rural Louisiana. First, in the rural districts, many impoverished residents traveled by horseback, buggy and boat which limited the distance they could travel. Second, motor vehicles became relatively common by the early 1930s, and if the new and improved schools Long's administration facilitated had any chances at success, then state-funded school busses needed reliable roads on which to retrieve and drop off students during the school year. Above all, Long's roads provided physical contact between Creoles and America that existed in only limited ways before 1928.

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[193] Sindler, *Huey Long's Louisiana*, 103; *American Progress*, 28 December 1933; Louisiana Highway Commission memorandum, dated 29 January 1957; Williams, *Huey Long*, 318; Brinkley, *Voices of Protest*, 24.

Now that the Long administration provided paved roads to the state, Louisiana residents could fully benefit from the expanded public health facilities that Long and his sympathizers expanded in the 1930s. In 1936, the Louisiana legislature created a State Hospital Board to oversee the implementation of Huey Long's vision of a public state hospital system. Between 1938 and 1941, the state built four new state hospitals, also called charity hospitals. Louisiana became one of four states in the nation to maintain charity general hospitals before World War II (the other three being Mississippi, West Virginia and Pennsylvania). In 1937, Dr. O.P. Daly sold St. John's Hospital in Lafayette to the state to form the nucleus of Lafayette Charity Hospital, providing free hospital and medical care to all impoverished citizens of the region. [194]

Citizens of Lafayette now had a state charity hospital at their disposal, however on an unequal racial basis. Speaking on behalf of blackened Lafayetters, Bishop Jeanmard of the Lafayette diocese noted that the state established charitable hospitals for the poor, and that blackened people in his diocese "were the poorest of the poor." And yet, out of 240 beds in the facility, those people only could occupy thirty-four. In addition, the hospital provided to them "a flimsy frame out building" for their health care which, the Bishop observed, "is a veritable fire trap." The facility neglected black-racialized patients so badly, that "it is not uncommon to see two in one bed and one on the floor under the bed." Conditions alarmed even the Police Jury (City Council), who recommended

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[194] Stella O'Conner, "The Charity Hospital at New Orleans: an Administration and Financial History, 1736-1941," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 31 (1948): 86-93; Brinkley, *Voices of Protest*, 30-31; Douglas L. Smith, *The New Deal in the Urban South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 114; William Ivy Hair, *The Kingfish and His Realm: The Life and Times of Huey Long* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1991), 230-31; John E. Salvaggio, *New Orleans' Charity Hospital: A Story of Physicians, Politics, and Poverty* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992); Karen Kruse Thomas, *Deluxe Jim Crow: Civil Rights and American Health Policy, 1935-1954* (Ithaca, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2011), 71-72; Griffin, *Attakapas County*, 152.

ameliorations. "We are human," Jeanmard wrote, "and it cuts us to the heart to see our sick fathers, mothers, wives, and children herded together like cattle in a stock yard."[195]

Nonetheless, Louisianians expressed pride in hospital growth in the state, even if treatment and salaries differed according to race. Something was better than nothing and the hospital care offered to nonwhites in Louisiana, some leaders claimed, exceeded that of care for whitened residents of other poor states. Longites, like Senator Ellender, boasted that the Louisiana charity hospital system served as a model system for indigent care, proportionally cared for more blackened Louisianians than whitened, and that Louisiana charity hospitals offered care for nonwhites qualitatively exceeding care for nonwhites in any other state. In 1947, the American Academy of Pediatrics ranked Louisiana first in white and nonwhite admissions in a study of hospital administration in six Southern states. Established state hospitals failed to accommodate all of the state's patients, but at the very least, Louisiana charity hospitals allotted 50% of its beds to nonwhites and Louisianians increasingly appreciated the care. As one Lafayette resident recalled in 1941, "[m]odern health [...] improvements have meant much to the Negroes of Lafayette City and Parish." As the only regional charity hospital, Lafayette's served white and nonwhite locals from southwest Louisiana equally, albeit on segregated wings.[196]

As Jeanmard recognized, however, Long's Louisiana made progress on a segregated basis, mirroring social patterns throughout the South; separate but unequal. Despite the shortcomings of the 1937 Lafayette charity hospital, the governor-turned-

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[195] "Bishop Jeanmard Pays Tribute to Patriotism of Negro Soldiers," Lafayette *Daily Advertiser*, 14 Mar 1941, 2; in May, *The Official Policy*, 14.

[196] Ibid.

senator boastfully acknowledged new opportunities to nonwhites. In 1935, during an interview with Roy Wilkins for *Crisis*, he stated "my education program is for everybody, whites and blacks" because "I can't have my people ignorant." Irrespective of the shortcomings of people of color (Creole and American) secured jobs between 1928 and 1931 on the Long paved and graveled road state project, and he found jobs for blackened nurses in the new state hospitals his administration established, though often because white-racialized nurses refused to care for patients of color. The salaries he negotiated for nonwhite laborers and nurses fell below the amount that New Deal programs offered in other states, so low that poor white-identified nurses turned their noses up to the positions. For recently evicted sharecroppers and tenant farmers, or people with no salary at all, Long's programs still offered some form of occupation and income. To be sure, Long's role can best be understood as empowering whiteness but the effects of his policies transcended race and class, albeit in limited ways. More importantly, and with enduring consequences, Long-era positions for nonwhites prepped Creoles of color for racially divisive employment practices, finally bifurcating their once racially unified working world.[197]

Nevertheless, Long did manage to garner support among everyday black-racialized residents in south Louisiana. One black worker recalled that "[h]e was fair to colored people, good to all poor people." A politician of color in New Orleans in 1939 claimed that "[t]he Negro masses, as well as the white masses, were solidly behind Huey P. Long." But Long made no attempts to vocalize or support nonwhite political rights.

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[197] Roy Wilkins, "Huey Long Says: An Interview with Louisiana's Kingfish," *Crisis* 42 (Feb., 1935): 41, 52; Carleton Beals, *The Inside Story of Huey Long* (Lippencott, 1935), 351; Williams, *Huey Long*, 703; ibid., "Huey P. Long and the Politics of Realism," in E. C. Barksdale, ed., *Essays on Recent Southern Politics* (Arlington: University of Texas Press, 1970), 114; Brinkley, *Voices of Protest*, 32.

As he put it to Roy Wilkins: "I ain't gonna get into that [...] They don't vote in the South [...] Do you think I can get away with niggers voting? No sirree!" Yet, he did support educational rights for people of color, and provided – albeit low paying wage labor – employment for nonwhites during his administration. Creoles of color benefitted in ways analogous to other blackened residents, but those who conversed in French or Creole faced an essentially Anglophone world of work. And English idioms and rules punctuated employment practices and day-to-day working lives. The New Deal did not alter this process but in fact accelerated English usage. When Creoles, moreover, turned on their radios, they overwhelmingly heard Anglo-American voices.[198]

2. Radio, ethnic music, and John Lomax

Radio

Radio ownership and accessibility became increasingly common and popular after the 1920s, further exposing Louisiana Creoles to national popular music in English and English language more commonly, especially by the early 1940s. Shane Bernard's *The Cajuns*, explores these transformations, and has been an important work on the topic which I will cite throughout this section and chapter. Some Louisiana Creoles, like the Hackberry Ramblers string band, helped bring America to Creole Louisiana. The Ramblers emerged from a Francophone community south of Lake Charles, close to the Texas border. In addition to community concerts, they moderated a music-based radio show on KPLC radio in Lake Charles, which sometimes took place at their performances. Occasionally, its (mostly Creole) fan base requested local Francophone

[198] Ibid.

tunes like the "Jolie blonde" and "Dans le grand bois." But the Ramblers and their patrons could not escape the English language's influence. They requested far more Anglophone music hits of the day, such as the patriotic "The Soldier's Last Letter," "There's a Star-Spangled Banner Waving Somewhere," and "I'll Be True While Your're Gone." Although the band hired Creoles, the Ramblers welcomed popular Anglophone music, especially those from nearby Texas, like western swing.[199]

Blackened Creoles expressed a clear desire to consume national music forms through radio and black-identified American travelling talent, received particular attention within Creole families. At Parks, in St. Martin Parish, the local Black Diamond Band, composed of Creoles, also provided national Anglophone blues and jazz favorites to a majority Creolophone audiences. Parks's nonwhite Creoles flocked to the local nonwhite dance hall to hear bands and national black-identified American vocalists like Nat King Cole, Sarah Vaughan, and Billie Holliday. Both whitened and blackened Creoles succumbed to Anglicization through the radio alike. The Chicago-based English-language minstrel shows that toured Parks annually also played a role in absorbing nonwhite Creoles into the national black-identified Anglophone fold.[200]

If radio seemed a key tool – albeit indirectly – for the assimilation of black-racialized Creoles with broader African American culture, some Francophone cultural guardians in southwest Louisiana used radio to celebrate Creole distinctiveness and its cultural heritage. For example, the "Louisiana Acadian" nationalist, Dudley Leblanc,

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[199] John Broven, *South to Louisiana: The Music of the Cajun Bayous* (Gretna, LA: Pelican, 1983), 22-24; Ann Allen Savoy, comp. and ed., *Cajun Music: A Reflection of a People*, vol. 1 (Eunice, LA: Bluebird, 1984), 114-26; Hackberry Ramblers Fan Mail, Goldband Collection, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; in Bernard, *The Cajuns*, 21. Initial omission duly noted and herein rectified.

[200] Dubois and Horvath, "Creoles and Cajuns," 194; Maguire, "Creoles and Creole Language," 284.

provided a Francophone radio spot every Sunday through the 1930s and 40s. The weekly show gratified his constituency. Allen Simon, a whitened Francophone, recalled "[t]hat was a ritual, man, that was like the way of the cross." Another confidante of Leblanc, the Francophone Canadian Catholic priest and nationalist, Fidèle Chaisson, also provided Francophone religious programming, which proved equally popular among parishioners. Yet even these cultural guardians understood the changing linguistic landscape which forced them to confront the emerging reality. Creole Louisiana lost its cultural isolation as an island community of Francophones and Creolophones who shared common values, languages, and faith. Black-racialized Creoles who attended the dances in Parks clearly indicated otherwise and even Dudley Leblanc faced the linguistic changed. Like Catholic services where French and English language services took place in the same church buildings, Leblanc's weekly radio show offered listeners French in the first half but English in the second.[201]

Academic Folklore

Leblanc's radio slot symbolized the bicultural world of 1930s Louisiana. Folklorists, however, did more than just reify difference. Like James Broussard, other academics sought to directly confront national cultural homogenization and in so doing, helped to accelerate the nationalizing cultural transformations (that many actually lamented). Early American folklorists conceptualized folklore as arising from culturally and geographically isolated spaces separate from mainstream national culture. Folk music and anything "folk," including "folks" (people), emanated from these same spaces which American folklorists also racialized and linked to culture. William Wells Newell, first

[201] Bernard, *The Cajuns*, 21.

editor of the *Journal of American Folklore*, called for the collection of folklore in four separate spaces: "Old English Folk-lore," the "Lore of Negroes," as well as the "Lore of Indian Tribes" and a broader category, the "Lore of French Canada, Mexico, etc." Additionally, folklore (the discipline) grew out of an earlier discipline – Philology – which combined history and geography, philosophy, linguistics and which often defined racial kinship according to linguistic commonality. Later, folklorists naturalized segregation and nourished the myth of an uncorrupted and racially unequivocal past by insisting that the most important aspects of black or white culture rested in racial/cultural purity. Race, language, and isolation therefore came to represent the pillars of the emergent academic discipline.[202]

One group of folklorists, called communalists, cultivated a particular spin on the discipline that would soon impact early 20th century folklorists in the field. Communalists, unlike followers of leading folklorist Francis James Child, believed that poverty-stricken, marginalized US residents could – and did – create their own music with their own creativity (rather than retain music composed by elites which the elites eventually abandoned but the poor retained). In fact, their lore did not end up "sealed and dried up forever;" poor people invented and re-invented their own lore. Academics only needed – communalists believed – to go out and find those pockets of new hybridized cultural forms, especially in music.[203]

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[202] William Wells Newell, "On the Field and World of a Journal of American Folk-Lore," *Journal of American Folklore* 1, no. 1 (1888): 3-7; in Miller, *Segregated Sound*, 86-7, 89, 98, 119.

[203] Rosemary Lévy Zumwalt, *American Folklore Scholarship: A Dialogue of Dissent* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), 48; Regina Bendix, *In Search of Authenticity: The Formation of Folklore Studies* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997), 85-6; in, Miller, *Segregated Sound*, 91-93.

Folklorists it followed should serve as a catalyst for locating lore in this way and might encourage commoners to conform to stereotypes (representing authentic folk culture for folklorists) which did not reflect their everyday lives; stereotypes which folklorists would institutionalize in the academy as a matter of scientific fact. And that they did, but first folklorists needed to separate popular music from folk-based and uncommon music forms. Ralph Peer, a scout for the Victor Talking Machine Company in the 1920s, often shook his head in disgust. "They would come in to me, people that could play a guitar very well and sing very well, and I'd test them," he said. "What other music have you got?," he asked musicians. "Well, they'd sing some song that was popular on record, some pop song [...] So I never bothered with them. They never got a chance," as long as he made decisions for the company. Dorothy Scarborough, a folklorist, toured the South collecting African American folk songs in the 1920s, and lamented "[h]ow often have I been tricked into enthusiasm over the promise of folk-songs only to hear age-worn phonograph records [...] or Broadway echoes, or conventional songs by white authors!" Popular music just did not do. Folklorists wanted music they could exoticize and in turn racialize.[204]

One communalist named John Lomax, a Harvard University alumnus and folklorist at the University of Texas at Austin, emerged as a particularly prominent folklorist in the early 20th century. Like his colleagues, Lomax also asked people he encountered to conform to certain stereotypes, both whitened and blackened, and imposed Newell's lore categories onto each. For whitened Americans, that meant an "Old English" style and like his colleagues, Lomax plainly rejected popular music in both

[204] Interview with Ralph Peer, 1959, Hollywood, California, by Lillian Borgeson, Tape #FT2772C, Southern Folklife Collection; Dorothy Scarborough, *On the Trail of Negro Folk-songs* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1925), 3; in Miller, *Segregated Sound*, 2-3, 117.

white and black-racialized bodies. "But are you really in earnest in claiming that the songs you send me are real range songs untouched by any emendation of yours?," he wrote one informant in 1911. "I am after the untutored and unedited expressions of the original plainsmen [and if] I am frank to confess that what you send me savors of the conventional popular song," which had no place in academic folklore. For blackened Americans, blues laments emerged as the single music form folklorists approved of. "Any complaining songs, complaining about the hard times and sometimes mistreatments of the whites," Lomax asked Blind Willie McTell, a native of Georgia. "No sir. I haven't. Not at the present time, because the whites is mighty to the southern people as far as I know," McTell replied. Striking out with Blind Willie, Lomax turned to state penitentiaries like Angola and Nashville, where he could use white-identified guards to force black-identified inmates to sing music that he wanted to hear, but not necessarily the ordinary music those inmates enjoyed and sang. In such forced situations, Lomax succeeded in recording work songs and prayers, which he regarded as "my prize record."[205]

Ethnic Music

While folklorists labored to capture authentic folk forms, regional music companies sought to render those styles popular by commercializing them. Francophone Louisiana and its prominent boosters like Dudley Leblanc soon encountered a market driven culture that transformed what Creoles long associated with "old French" tunes.

[205] Transcribed from Blind Willie McTell, "Monologue on Accidents," *Library of Congress Recordings, 1940* (RST Records BDCD-6001, 2000); originally recorded by John Lomax, Atlanta, Georgia, 5 November 1940; John A. Lomax to Henry G. Alsberg, undated, Lomax Family Papers, box 3D171, folder 1; in Miller, *Segregating Sound*, 79-80, 261.

The commercialization of southwest Louisiana Francophone music impacted Louisiana Creoles in multiple ways. It undermined their isolation through exposure to the outside (English-speaking) world and it brought Creole artists to other American cities. In fact, recording labels did not go to southwest Louisiana; Creoles had to travel to cities throughout the state, region, and nation to record. In 1928, Joe Falcon and his wife Cléoma Breaux, among other musicians, travelled to New Orleans to record "Allons à Lafayette" with Okeh Records. Sady Courville and Dennis McGee also recorded Francophone music in New Orleans in 1928. Sady recalled that the record company "would pay all your expenses," and in that session, the company recorded eight to ten of their songs on five records. From 1928 to 1932, other recording companies specializing in folk music recruited the Falcons, Dennis, and several other Francophones from the region, like Amédé Ardoin, a vocalist from near Eunice.[206]

Several music companies scouted southwest Louisiana Creoles to record after 1928 and encouraged music in French when, as discussed earlier, Louisiana Creoles increasingly enjoyed and performed music in English. Okeh, Columbia, RCA Victor, Decca, and other labels discovered southwest Louisiana's provincial Francophone music form and began to commercialize it regionally for profit. Similar to folklorists, these companies wanted ethnically-specific music which they could market, but they did not impose wholly new music genres onto the people. Like many songs of the late 1920s in Francophone southwest Louisiana, "Allons à Lafayette" predictably lamented out-migration and the transformation of Creoles into new people. Joe's style particularly

[206] Rick Koster, *Louisiana Music: A Journey from R&B to Zydeco, Jazz to Country, Blues to Gospel, Cajun Music to Swamp Pop to Carnival* (Boston: Da Capo Press, 2002), 164; Barry Jean Ancelet, Elemore Morgan, Ralph Rinzler, *Cajun and Creole Music Makers* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1999), 23, 36.

interested scouts, as he emerged as one of the first recording artists to use an accordion. Perhaps scouts found collaborations across the color line, like Dennis McGee and Amédé Ardoin's, unique and marketable as otherworldliness. But interest in Creole folk music did not wane. In fact, commercial companies accepted artists and genres as they came, as long as Louisiana Creoles (it appears) performed them in French. The rise in recordings ensured much greater visibility for Creoles. Some boosters utilized the musical traditions to enhance and exoticize the region while others – notably recording studios – attempted to recover a particular sound of a bye-gone era which they believed to have been lost. [207]

When John and his son Alan Lomax traveled to southwest Louisiana for recordings in 1934, they conveniently and predictably avoided certain legacies of the regional ethnic music popularity. By the early 1930s, southwest Louisiana Creoles performed Francophone music either with limited instrumentation or as a variant in dialogue (genre and form) with other national music currents. John Lomax broke from his communalist. In Louisiana, he encouraged music that dis-represented the cultural contact communalists sought. In its place, Lomax unknowingly settled for styles folklorist Child referred to as "sealed and dried up forever," with limited instrumentation and racial crossovers. For music by Creoles racialized as black, Lomax classed performances as both blues and French (when he did), and all music he recorded by the three black-racialized Creoles fell into the rubric of *juré*, the call-and-response or syncopated a cappella vocals closely related to work songs in prisons and on railroads. In August 1934, Cleveland Benoît and "The Mighty Darby Hicks" sang "Malheureuse neg" or "Là-bas chez Moreau" in Jennings (Jefferson Davis Parish), a French-language juré

[207] Ibid.

about an unhappy guy who would go to Moreau's place to find candy and coffee. Predictably, the Lomaxes filed the recording under "blues" in their card catalog. Joe Massey, a St. Martinville Creolophone, sang four songs for the Lomaxes (all in Louisiana Creole), using nothing more than vocals and foot stomping for beat and instrumentation. In time, this duality led to the rise of French or Creole music as traditional forms, and Cajun and Zydeco as new, popular forms.[208]

Conclusion

Musical recordings and the interest in recovering the authentic Creole sound tended to have numerous effects. On the one hand, it tended to exoticize difference. Whereas on the other hand, the new recorded sounds wove the Francophone and Creolophone songs into a broader national US culture. To be sure, that larger culture and society had multiple sounds (as many as immigrant communities, in fact). But the interest in Creole Louisiana brought the regional culture closer to national audiences. Creole artists benefitted from the financial gains but in turn their music and sound increasingly became part (albeit exoticized) of a broader American culture.

This chapter interrogated the ways in which government, schooling and academics, radio, and music (intentionally and unintentionally) accelerated and encouraged cultural homogenization in Creole communities between 1928 and the mid 1940s. Two streams of influence contributed to towards greater integration of Louisiana Creoles into national cultural norms: state and federal government modernization projects built schools, hospitals, roads, bridges, and created new jobs for residents

[208] Ben Sandmel, *Zydeco!* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1999), 33-; Joshua Clegg Caffery, "John and Alan Lomax in Louisiana, 1934," website, accessed 27 March 2015, http://www.lomax1934.com/.

impoverished first by the flood in 1927 and later by the Great Depression. But improving living and social conditions for Louisianians (Creole and American) through these modernization projects cut through ethnic distinctions, promoted greater identification with Americanness, hardened racial segregation, imposed English language, and new identities. James Broussard and Dudley Leblanc helped to Americanize whitened Creoles by folklorizing historical legacies of Louisiana's Acadian identity and their indigenous languages (French and Creole). Radio, traveling music groups, academic folklorists and ethnic music companies contributed to the cultural homogenization process in diverse ways, all leading to greater identification with national cultural forms. But those processes ultimately led to greater identification with national cultural forms. World War II would exacerbate and accelerate these transformations.

Chapter Six: "At Home As Pariahs": World War II and Biculturalized People

Introduction

World War II ushered in a wave of national unity. From the attack on Pearl Harbor to VJ Day, Americans rallied behind the national flag. As historian Shane Bernard observed, the Second World War impacted southwest Louisiana in numerous ways. It accelerated the process of national integration and further facilitated the homogenization of American culture with many ethnic groups finding common emotional engagement with the American state and its embattled armies. But as this chapter outlines, the war accelerated processes of integration already well under way along the Teche. Schools, war service, and patriotism ensured that all Creoles assimilated into dominant national cultural forms. Some Creoles enthusiastically welcomed national integration and the war, while others lamented it but acquiesced to the changes. Population demographics in Creole communities shifted once again as Creoles left for work and the war, while outsiders replaced them, adversely affecting Creole endogamy and marriage practices. Many men of color of all ethnicities fought in the war to bring peace, prosperity, and liberty to oppressed people in Europe and Asia. But like others across the segregated South, they returned to the same prejudices and oppression towards people of color in the United States.

This irony and hypocrisy led to a wave of civil rights activism and violence wherein black-racialized people all over the United States rallied behind the *Pittsburgh Courier*'s "double V" campaign: victory in Europe, victory at home. Unlike in the previous decades of the 20th century, during the World War II years, blackened Americans brought civil rights activism to Creole communities in southwest Louisiana,

and Creoles reacted in diverse ways. Social, legal, and economic conditions declined so considerably in Creole communities in southwest Louisiana that many black-racialized Creoles from those communities saw little value in the status quo. A few joined hands with black-identified Americans, rallying behind the push for civil rights, while others preferred gradual change or they simply relocated to Texas and California where better – and more – opportunities awaited them. Some whitened Creoles followed national white reaction to black activism and unleashed a fury of violence unseen in southwest Louisiana since the 19th century that even federal entities failed to quell.

Unlike Shane Bernard, who places primacy on wartime patriotism towards Americanization, this last chapter demonstrates that wartime changes built on the Americanization of Creole communities; change that came over the twenty-five to thirty years after World War I. The Second World War served as a major event encouraging homogenization, but was not the first (change had begun already in the 1910s) and certainly not the last (change would continue from the 1950s onward). Homogenization, however, came at a high price. The Second World War fractured Creole communities along racial lines, and threatened the vitality of the older Creole culture. But while many Creoles completely abandoned their birth culture to be flag-waving Americans in the 1940s, others embraced Creole-American biculturality. They became American in English (but not *Américain* or *Mérikin* in French or Creole) and simultaneously held onto their Creole culture and identity.[209]

[209] "Race Unites for Drive to Secure Real Democracy," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 7 Mar 1942, p 12.

World War II In-migrations

The United States officially entered World War II on 8 December 1941, ushering in immediate demographic shifts to Creole communities in southwest Louisiana. American soldiers, however, began arriving in southwest Louisiana in 1940. United States military operations and training camps swiftly dotted the nation with the American South gaining a disproportionately large share of the military investment due to its cheap land and mild winters. In New Iberia, the military built an air base where these soldiers worked. Later, the Navy commissioned the air base as a Navy jet pilot training facility. The city of Lafayette also had its own air station. In 1941, Lafayette city officials voted a bond issue to increase the existing airspace in the city from 152 acres to 925. A private training facility opened shortly after the bond issue, and the Federal Government contracted a private company to train, as the American Lafayetter, Harry Lewis Griffin recalled, "hundreds of men for the US Air Force."[210]

The military facilities in Lafayette and New Iberia not only invested monetarily in land and resources, but the arrival of war migrants also led to mixed (cultural and religious) marriages and transient Creole-American families. Young men working at the New Iberia air base arrived as bachelors, took local Creole brides, and moved their families away whenever and wherever the military transferred the husband. As Maurine Bergerie, one New Iberian, recollected, "The Naval Air Station at New Iberia, with its frequently shifting personnel and large payroll, has [...] effected the area. Young eligible males at the station are still young but no longer eligible: they have been married to the

[210] Allen Cronenberg, *Forth to the Mighty Conflict: Alabama and World War II* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003), 36; Jeffrey A. Engel, *Local Consequences of the Global Cold War* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), 79; "Group Takes Fight Against Air Base Site to Senate," *Lake Charles American-Press*, 7 June 1955, 11; Bernard, *The Cajuns*, 5, 15; Bergerie, *They Tasted Bayou Water*, 80; Griffin, *Attakapas Country*, 91.

Teche Country by virtue of matrimony with one of the local girls." The transitory military life impacted longstanding local Creole traditions in displacing Creoles, transplanting them into various locales and contexts, but most importantly in the implanting of American values as members of US military personnel.[211]

Another wave of Americans disembarked on the Teche as the demand for oil increased during World War II. Oil field companies poured into Teche Country once again to extract oil. Locals and outsiders established a dozen or so new oil companies throughout southwest Louisiana, and Texans, Mississippians, and Oklahomans represented the largest influx of oil field workers. Iberia Parish saw many new oil companies engaged in petroleum extraction and processing. For example, Iberians established the Sun Oil Company, Canal Oil Company, Lisbon-Iberia Oil Corporation, Plymouth Oil Company, Shell Oil Company, Inc., Midstates Oil Corporation of Texas, Texas Company, and others. As a result of the Iberia air space and oil company developments, between 1940 and 1950, the population of Iberia and Lafayette Parishes increased by nearly 2,900 and 13,800 persons, respectively.[212]

These oil companies did not simply extract and process for shipment outside of Louisiana; locals in Teche Country made use of the oil, too. For instance, J.A. Daigre's Oil Co. in New Iberia, which distributed Daco Petroleum Products, also provided petroleum for personal motor vehicles, which had by then become ubiquitous. Louisiana

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[211] Bergerie, *They Tasted Bayou Water*, 97.

[212] Historical Census Browser. Retrieved 13 March 2015 from the University of Virginia, Geospatial and Statistical Data Center, http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/index.html. The population in 1940 for Iberia and Lafayette Parishes was 37,183 and 43,941. In 1950, the population in the 2 parishes was 40,059 and 57,743. For oil companies, see *Monroe Morning World*, 28 January 1940, 16; ibid., 4 February 1940, p 10; ibid., 21 April 1940, 11; ibid., 16 June 1940, p 9; ibid., 15 September 1940, 12; ibid., 4 May 1941, p. 14; ibid., 10 August 1941, p 12. Begergie, *They Tasted Bayou Water*, 79, 97.

petroleum also fueled military vehicles and ships, some of which brought around 50,000 German and Italian prisoners of war (POWs) to Louisiana between 1943 and 1945. These newcomers added to the diversity of southwest Louisiana and eventually came to occupy positions in certain labor contexts. The US military imprisoned the POWs in many towns in seventeen of the twenty-three parishes comprising southwest Louisiana. For instance, they replaced Creole field hands in the rice and sugarcane growing parishes of the region who left to fight in the war or to work in other industries elsewhere. In Lafayette Parish, the town of Broussard's tourism industry published literature boasting of the (now dismantled) Billeaud Sugar Factory being the "largest employer of German POWs in Word War II." What did locals think of the influx of newcomers?[213]

Whitened Creoles and Americans reacted in mixed ways to the presence of POWs, demonstrating both a sense of insularity and of openness. Indeed, wartime propaganda fueled a state of paranoia, and some local Creoles rumored that POWs seduced local women. For example, news commentator Walter Winchell expressed considerable anxiety over POWs seducing local ladies who met them at night to have "midnight sex" through the prison's fencing in Franklin (St. Mary Parish). Winchell also claimed that POWs launched orgies with local women at prisons in St. Martinville and Lake Arthur. Vermilion Parish had a POW prison, also, and played its role in amping up the salacious rumors. The mood led its American Legion Post 29 to take the issues up directly with the president (Franklin D. Roosevelt) and Congress. The Louisiana State

[213] Conrad, *New Iberia*, 312; "Beau Soléil Broussard: A Driving Tour," tourism brochure for the town of Broussard, La., 1997; Arnold Krammer, *Nazi Prisoners of War in America* (New York: Stein and Day, 1979), vii, xiii; Matthew J. Schott and Rosalind Foley, "Bayou Stalags: German Prisoners of War in Louisiana," 1981, [photocopy], 5, 17, Matthew J. Schott Collection, Southern Archives and Manuscript Collection, University of Louisiana at Lafayette; Matthew J. Schott, "Bayou Stalags of the Deep South: The POWs' 'Good War' Providence," 1994, 243-44, 248, 268, 366, 368-70, 390; "'Great Nazi Orgy' Was Only Dinner," *Times-Picayune*, 28 December 1943, 2; in Bernard, *The Cajuns*, 16-17.

Police, ended up taking up the complaints. When they reviewed the claims, the State Police learned that a rice grower in Lake Arthur had treated his POW field hands to a seafood dinner at a local restaurant, which locals crafted into a story of sex and frolicing in their community.[214]

Whitened American reaction to the POWs in southwest Louisiana may have resulted in longstanding American tradition that historically viewed Italians and Germans as not quite white and thus, they aroused the fears of contamination. In the 1910 United States decennial census, for instance, enumerators described over 400 Italians as "octoroons" (allegedly ⅛ African ancestry). Similarly, in 1930, census marshals classified 544 Germans as "octoroons." In fact, Americans beyond the census enumerations long grappled with the place of Italians in its binary racial order. In the 1910s, George Dorsey, a columnist for the *Chicago Tribune* observed that "a brunette from the south of Italy looks like a white man in the heart of Africa," but "the same man in Chicago may be taken for an Italian." An economist named Robert Foerster captured the regularity of Italians cast as nonwhites when he wrote "In a country where yet the distinction between the white man and the black man is a distinction in value as well as in ethnography it is no compliment to the Italian to deny him whiteness." "Yet, that happens with considerable frequency," he concluded. At the same time, like blackened people, POWs could attend Catholic masses at St. Louis Cathedral, and Louisiana planters sometimes treated them to a local meal in restaurants in recompense for their services as field hands.[215]

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[214] Ibid.

[215] 1910 US Census, California, New York, Louisiana, et al.; 1920 US Census, Hawaii Territory; Chicago *Tribune*, 13 Jun 1915, p 1, 7 Jun 1910, p 8; Robert F. Foerster, *The Italian Immigration of Our Times* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1919), 407; in, Thomas A.

While some Creoles embraced outsiders in south Louisiana, others resisted. Tensions flared in southwest Louisiana between the Anglophone incomers and the local Creoles over such things as respectability, habit, composure, and sexual permissiveness. Early in the war years, these changes escalated tensions between Americans and Creoles. State workers observed tensions flaring in Ascension, Avoyelles, Jefferson Davis, Lafourche, and St. Landry, parishes where Anglophone outsiders arrived in large numbers. Americans and Creoles in the predominantly Francophone southern portion of Lafourche Parish around Golden Meadow proved especially evident to state employees, which they understood as being "caused by the influx of ... a population different in its mode of living." As Bernard notes in *The Cajuns,* Creoles blamed Americans for bringing "honky-tonks, bad credit, drunkenness, fighting, prostitution, and polygamy" to southwest Louisiana. Whatever truth lay in their observation is difficult to determine, but Creoles cultivated such ideas about the newcomers. This friction between Americans and Creoles led to the emergence of local epithets. Anglophones ridiculed Creoles for their indigenous culture, and Creoles came to refer to the Anglophones as "maudits Texiens" (damned Texans), even if they were not Texans, and invoked the characteristics above to belittle the *Texiens*.[216]

Guglielmo, *White on Arrival: Italians, Race, Color, and Power in Chicago, 1890-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 28; "Our times: POWs on the Streets of New Orleans," *Times-Picayune*, 3 Mar 2012. See also Vincenza Scarpaci, *The Journey of Italians in America* (Gretna, La.: Pelican Publishing, 2008); Ibid., "Walking the Color Line: Italian Immigrants in Rural Louisiana, 1880-1910," in *Are Italians White: How Race Is Made in America*, eds. Jennifer Guglielmo and Salvatore Salerno (New York: Routledge, 2003); Enrico Lago and Rick Halpern, *The American South and the Italian Mezzogiorno: Essays in Comparative History* (Palgrave Macmillian, 2002); Richard Follett and Rick Halpern, "From Slavery to Freedom in Louisiana's Sugar Country: Changing Labour Systems and Workers' Power," in Bernard Moitt, ed., *Sugar, Slavery, and Society* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2004), 135-156.

[216] Louisiana Educational Survey Commission, *Louisiana Educational Survey* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Education Survey Commission, 1942), vol. 2, sec. 4, pp. 8-9; Edward K. Krammer, *A Socio-Economic Survey of the Marshdwellers of Four Southeastern Louisiana Parishes*, Catholic

The Lafayette bishop had watched these demographic changes in the Lafayette diocese since the early 1920s with considerable concern, and once again moved to diminish interreligious and interdenominational marriages. In a letter to the clergy, Jeanmard drew attention to a passage from the Sacred Congregation on the Sacraments:

> The opportuneness of decreeing an excommunication *latae sententiae* against those Catholics who contract a merely civil marriage. Some of the Bishops have already promulgated that penalty; but the Sacred Congregation wish to suggest the advisability of every Bishop's decreeing in like manner in his diocese to meet the growing disregard for the religious and sacramental character of marriage.

Jeanmard proposed to discuss the issue in earnest at the upcoming Ecclesiastical Conference at Our Lady of the Oaks from 6-13 March 1940. Additionally, the pressing topic of inter-denomination marriages replaced that of Canon Law on the conference agenda.[217]

Jeanmard's concern had some validity; so-called mixed religious and denominational marriages did increase exponentially after 1940 and likely rose due to the new oil workers, military men, and the rise of Baptist and Methodist churches in the region. In 1930, Lafayette diocesan officials counted 117 mixed religious/denominational marriages and 126 converts throughout the diocese. By 1940, mixed marriages doubled to 226 and converts exceeded 270. As noted in chapter three, the Catholic Church encouraged mixed Catholic-Non-Catholic couples to raise their offspring in the Catholic faith, with the expressed intention of the non-Catholic party eventually converting to Catholicism. Catholic evangelization, as discussed previously, also impacted conversions.

University of America Studies in Sociology, vol. 3 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1941), 86, in Bernard, *The Cajuns*, 15-16. Initial ommission duly noted and rectified.

[217] Jules B. Jeanmard to the clergy, 2 Mar 1940, PB 3, ACDL.

New Iberia's two Catholic churches saw exponential growth in mixed marriages and conversions to Catholicism during the 1930s and 40s. In 1935, St. Peter Church blessed six mixed marriages, compared to 23 in 1945. And conversions to Catholicism grew from six in 1941 to 72 in 1947. Similarly, St. Edward Church officiated four mixed marriages in 1935, compared to 16 in 1945. Conversions at St. Edward reached a peak in 1928 after the great flood, and hovered at 27 to 29 through the 1940s. Although in-migration certainly contributed to the rising umber of interdenominational marriages, the out-migration of Creoles during the 1940s materially contributed to the population change and with it the number of mixed religious marriages among those Creoles who strayed behind.[218]

World War II Draft & Out-migrations

The war drafted thousands of Creoles, shifting the demographics of Creole communities still further. Creole communities had diversified significantly after World War I. With new-comers remaining clear minorities in the Creole hearth. The balance between natives and strangers began to shift in the 1920s, although markedly so once the oil industry expanded and out-migration accelerated from the cane industry. By 1940, however, Creoles still remained a major and numerical majority residing in the hearth civil parishes. Therefore, when whitened Creoles from southwest Louisiana participated in World War II (either through the draft in 1942-43 or through voluntary enlistment), they outnumbered other soldiers from the region. For instance, Creoles (of both

[218] *Official Catholic Directory* (New York: 1930), 434; ibid. (New York: 1940), 430; "Annual Parish Reports," St. Peter Church, 1935, ACDL, New Iberia Folder; ibid., 1940; "Canonical Visitation Report," St. Peter Church, 1941, ACDL, New Iberia Folder; ibid., 1947; "Annual Parish Reports," St. Edward Church, 1935, ACDL, St. Edward Folder; ibid., 1945; "Canonical Visitation Report," St. Edward Church, 1928, 1937, 1941, 1947, RCDL, St. Edward Folder; Fontenot and Toups, *Gentle Shepherd*, 61.

racialized groups) represented over 70% of soldiers inducted from Lafayette and St. Martin Parishes in 1942. And an even larger number of Creoles left from Vermilion Parish in November 1943 and Iberia Parish in February 1942.[219]

The war drew thousands of Creoles to Europe, but the expansion of wartime industries drew thousands more to New Orleans and Texas. In these locales, they worked in shipyards, refineries, and defense factories alongside Americans and other immigrants. In New Orleans, many whitened Creoles worked for Delta Shipyards and the Higgins Boat Company, producing various landing craft and rocket-launching support boats. Management and unions conspired to exclude blackened workers (including Creoles) from the immense Delta Shipyards. But blackened Creoles secured work in other firms in the Crescent City where by 1943, 46 of the 175 firms in the city employed nonwhites, 19 of which previously only hired whitened people. The change in hiring practices in New Orleans lay in Franklin D. Roosevelt's executive order 8802 (and its Fair Employment Practice Committee) which banned discriminatory hiring among all companies receiving federal contracts. In turn, industries hired on a color-blind basis. Segregation and discrimination occurred but the order provided many new employment opportunities for communities of color. Yet white out-migration to fight in the war left plenty of available positions. For people of color in the Texas golden triangle (Orange, Beaumont, Port Arthur), Creoles worked for the Pennsylvania Shipyards and the Consolidated Steel Corporation. This impacted yet again the manpower in south

[219] 1990 American Community Survey, Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS), for Persons, United States Census Bureau; "Boys Inducted into Service since Jan. 1st Are Listed," *Weekly Messenger*, 3 April 1942, 1; "Selectees Examined Friday at Lafayette Induction Center," *Weekly Messenger*, 27 November 1942, 1; "26 Vermilion Men Inducted in Army," *Abbeville Meridional*, 27 November 1943, 1; "Names Given of Selectees about to Be Inducted," *Weekly Iberian*, 19 February 1942, 4; "Serial Numbers for Fourth Registration Released Here," *Daily Courier*, 28 May 1942, 1-2. Census data extrapolated primarily from 1990 census data. In Bernard, *The Cajuns*, 6.

Louisiana agricultural industries. Edmund McIlhenny of Avery Island near New Iberia resented the out-migration of field hands from his pepper and sugarcane fields who, he wrote, had "gone into higher paying jobs – especially the shipyards in New Orleans, Orange, and Beaumont."[220]

With out-migration leading to population changes in Louisiana, the Creole exodus impacted communities across the nation. Texas and California Creole enclaves accordingly grew exponentially, as Creoles during and after World War II swelled pre-existing Creole communities in those states, which in turn strengthened these diasporic Creole communities. The southeast Texas region came to be called the "Cajun Lapland" as Creoles regarded it as a spillover from southwest Louisiana Creole communities. Some areas even acquired Creole geographical reference names, like Little Abbeville, situated between Beaumont and Port Arthur. In both cities, south Louisiana surnames, cities, and people, appeared as street names. Port Arthur's Intracoastal waterway community, where many blackened Creoles relocated, named their streets New Orleans Avenue and Lake Charles Avenue, alongside the names of cities from other southern cities. Whether Creoles built these ethnic enclaves on their own free will or officials imposed them as urban city officials sometimes did to immigrants, is difficult to determine. What is certain, however, is that Louisiana Creole enclaves (both whitened and blackened)

[220] Maguire, "Creoles and Creole Language," 283; Bernard, *The Cajuns*, 5; Merl E. Reed, "The FEPC, the Black worker, and the Southern Shipyards," *South Atlantic Quarterly* LXXIV (1975): 446-53; Warren M. Banner and J. Harvey Kerns, "Review of the Economic and Cultural Problems of New Orleans ... as They Relate to Conditions in the Negro Population," 1950, 28-36, Hubert Papers, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University; in Fairclough, "Racial Repression," 189; E. A. McIlhenny, Avery Island, La., to Walter S. McIlhenny, San Francisco, Ca., 11 November 1942, TL, McIlhenny Company Archives, Avery Island, La.

emerged in southeast Texas, and many for blackened Creoles in California, around local Catholic churches, too.[221]

Wartime Patriotism

For some Creoles, the military did not need to draft them; they volunteered before the federal government enacted conscription. The day after Pearl Harbor's attack, three Opelousas Creoles traveled to the local recruiting office to sign up for the war. "We three had been thinking for some time of enlisting," but "this Jap bombing decided us," one of the three whitened enlistees declared. Eulgère Blanchard of St. Martinville wrote from Texas that "It's an honor to be an American and able to help his country. I left home nothing but a poor working boy, now here I am an American soldier serving my good Uncle Sam." For many, the escape from local class divisions offered an insatiable opportunity. As a Creole navy soldier saw it, "No man is better than you, and you're better than no one" in the military. The war offered both an escape from a classist caste system in south Louisiana, where poor Creoles could escape the unpredictable and old homogenous agricultural industry of south Louisiana, to see the world, earn an income, and escape the monotony of south Louisiana culture. Patriotism also suggests that the

[221] Sara Le Menestrel, *Negotiating Difference in French Louisiana Music: Categories, Stereotypes, and Identifications* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2014); Andrew Jolivette, *Louisiana Creoles: Cultural Recovery and Mixed-race Native American Identity* (Lexington Books, 2007), 38; Janet Ravare Colson, *THE Creole Book* (Natchitoches, La.: Lulu Publications, 2012), 106; Roger Wood, *Texas Zydeco* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006); Tisserand, *Kingdom of Zydeco*; Mark F. DeWitt, *Cajun and Zydeco Dance Music in Northern California: Modern Pleasures in a Postmodern World* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2008), 75-6; Ryan A. Brasseaux and Kevin S. Fontenot, *Accordions, fiddles, two step & swing: a Cajun music reader* (Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies, 2006), 117-19.

war provided a context for nationhood. For good or ill, Creoles increasingly associated and identified with the United States.[222]

Some blackened Creoles also willingly volunteered to participate in the war effort, showing increased sign of identification with nationhood and American values. Fifteen such Lafayette Creoles joined in the war effort. Bishop Jeanmard of the Lafayette diocese imagined the men's response to a *Lafayette Advertiser* article, which read along these lines: "We are cheerfully answering *our country*'s call and we stand ready to do our duty to *our flag* in the way that the people at home will be proud of us." These blackened Creoles' keen sense of serving in the military may share the same reasons as their whitened relatives and community members. For sure, Louisiana had neglected and ostracized them, and escaping those conditions may have led many to enlist without question.[223]

Some local Creoles recruited for the war effort in local languages and English, showing signs of clear alliance with American patriotism and values. Those who recruited in both languages of course reflected the status quo – southwest Louisianians widely spoke both languages and enlistment required a degree of flexibility. Recruiting in English had the singular value of demonstrating alliance and support for American patriotism and values. A polyglot Lafayette native, Robert L. Mouton, closely related to the Mouton family discussed in chapter one, served as a Francophone and Anglophone recruiter for the United States Marine Corps, and established a Bayou Teche area

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[222] "3 Sign Up For Navy Here Today," *Daily World*, 8 December 1941, 4; "Marines To Seek Men From New Iberia," *Weekly Iberian*, 8 January 1942, 3; "Marine Corps Officers To Be Here Jan. 12," *Abbeville Meridional*, 10 January 1942, 1; "Eulgere Blanchard Writes From Camp," *Weekly Messenger*, 12 June 1942, 4; "LeBlanc, Former Scoutmaster, Writes to Local Troop," ibid., 1 May 1942; in Bernard, *The Cajuns*, 6, 10.

[223] "Bishop Jeanmard Pays Tribute to Patriotism of Negro Soldiers," Lafayette *Daily Advertiser*, 14 Mar 1941, 2; in May, *The Official Policy*, 13. My emphasis.

military unit called the Bayou Battalion or Bayou Brigade. Local Creole lifestyle and physical particularities convinced the Marine Corps that local Creole men could serve the nation well. Mouton explained that "they can shoot straight, they can handle a knife, they're good physical specimens and they love a scrape [...] If that doesn't make for a good Marine, then *moi, je suis fou*." Using his knowledge of local languages and topography, Captain Mouton recruited 150 to 200 whitened Creole men, who trained together in San Diego, California. They participated in the collective goal of defeating Japan alongside Anglophone and other fellow citizens in 1942.[224]

Among those enthusiastic to serve in the war, some did exceedingly well in the armed forces. The Lafayetter, Robert L. Mouton, served as captain in the Marine Corps. Wallace J. Moulis of St. Martinville enrolled in the United States Military Academy at West Point and fought valliantly in western Europe as a reconnaissance and intelligence platoon leader, and as battle patrol commander. Joe Thibodeaux of Lafayette also transcended barriers that had heretofore excluded Creoles. He joined Darby's Rangers, a special forces unit that participated in the invasion of Sicily, mainland Italy, and north Africa. The military even promoted Creoles to key pilot positions, such as Wiltz P. Ségura of New Iberia, who piloted a P-40 fighter plane in China in the 23rd Fighter Group. In January 1945, the Army Air Forces promoted 23-year-old Frank R. Raymond of St. Martinville to lieutenant. Raymond led St. Martin Parish as the parish's first blackened Creole to be commissioned by the United States Army and the first to become a pilot in the armed forces. Some Creole communities vigorously supported the war efforts. Like those who had volunteered for war service, Creoles who remained behind

[224] Booton Herndan, "Capt. Mouton Will Travel Bayous To Recruit Fighters for Marines," *Daily Advertiser*, 1 January 1842, 3; "Last Call For Bayou Battalion U.S. Marine Corps," *Abbeville Meridional*, 24 January 1942, 4; in Bernard, *The Cajuns*, 6. Original italics.

frequently cohered behind the national flag and expressed the same kind of patriotism experienced elsewhere in the nation and among other ethnic minorities. The St. Martin *Weekly Messenger* wrote that "[t]he dastardly attack by Japan was taken calmly, but with suppressed anger by citizens of St. Martinville and St. Martin Parish." Those same citizens patriotically approved the declaration of war.[225]

Patriotic flag-waving represented only one side of the story, however. On the one hand, newspaper editors like the Bienvenus in St. Martinville, had long been bicultural, with a foot in both the American and Creole doors. They had spoken English fluently since the 19th century and some only knew English, as one editor of the *Weekly Messenger* noted in the 1910s. Furthermore, elite Creoles had a long an distinguished tradition of military service. Some had served in the revolution of 1776, the War of 1812 and Battle of New Orleans (1814), and fought for the Confederacy during the Civil War, often with the same zeal as Anglophones. They actively invested in Americanness because Americans empowered them. Determining the support of poor Creoles for the war effort is more difficult, largely due to illiteracy and their relative absence from the public record.[226]

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[225] Oscar James Gonzales, "La. Flying Tiger Recalls Dogfights, Camaraderie," *The Adovcate*, 4 July 1994, 3B; Michael Martin, "Lafayette 'Ranger' Endured WWII in African, Italy Battles," *The Advocate*, 6 June 1994, 3; "Declaration of War Taken Calmly Here," *Weekly Messenger*, 12 December 1941, 1; Ralph R. Bienvenu, "The Pilot Light," column, *Abbeville Meridional*, 13 December 1941, 1; "Local Colored Man is Air Officer," *Weekly Messenger*, 16 February 1945, p 2; Bernard, *The Cajuns*, 10-11.

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Kathleen Duval, *Independence Lost: Lives on the Edge of the American Revolution* (Random House Publishing Group, 2015); Gilbert C. Din, *Spaniards, Planters, and Slaves: The Spanish Regulation of Slavery in Louisiana, 1763-1803* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1999), 132, 153, 226, 234; Michael Lee Lanning, *The American Revolution 100: The Battles, People, and Events of the American War for Independence, Ranked by Their Significance* (SourceBooks, Inc., 2009), 143-45; Conrad, *New Iberia*, ; Griffin, *Attakapas Country*, 142-43.

That said, poorer Creoles established both support for the war effort and a degree of reservation, particularly those Francophones and Creolophones who remained wholly committed to their Creole cultural habits and who maintained a healthy distrust of all things American. A few cultural stalwarts, however, did not alter the reality that many poor Creoles of all racialized identities gathered behind the US war effort. In reality, Creoles found little opportunity in opposing the war: doing so would expose them to ridicule. Moreover, the military constructed major military installations in the Creole civil parishes and local businesses grew to support the airfields and service the transitory war workers. Other Creoles had relatives who had migrated to New Orleans, Beaumont, or Houston to find work in factories. They gained entrance to relatively well-paid employment and for blackened Creoles who had previously faced color lines, the workplace, the president's Fair Employment Practice Committee, ushered in a new age: one where citizens of color gained access to work on the bases of non-discrimination. The war accordingly offered Creoles new opportunities but the patriotic flag-waving in St. Martinville and elsewhere in the hearth also reflected the new reality. Creoles by the mid-1940s embraced their cultural roots as Latins, but they also increasingly recognized themselves as Americans. When Creoles joined military recruits from Washington to Wisconsin, they fought alongside fellow Americans. To be sure, Creole servicemen often saw themselves as different and no doubt faced name calling as "Frenchie." But war service served as an immensely powerful cultural glue. It allied American citizens of all ethnic origins and directed them toward common enemies: the axis powers of Germany and Japan.

In the end, Creoles of all racial persuasions celebrated victory. Throughout Creole Louisiana, newspapers demonstrated the enthusiasm electrifying the community. The

Daily World of Opelousas wrote that the towns streets "broke out in bedlam as horns squeaked and people shouted" and ran to liquor stores to purchase enough "little round packages ... to last far into the night." In the mostly Francophone Houma (Terrebonne Parish), a local observed that "an automobile horn sounded somewhere up the street." In fact, he noted widespread jubilation on the dusty roads as well as in its slow-moving bayous. Even the deeply-rooted Creole town of St. Martinville went "completely wild with joy." Parades followed in hamlets and towns in Creole Louisiana. Throughout the Creole hearth and beyond, American residents regarded victory as a collective cathartic moment of national relief and a victorious celebration. [227]

The role of schools and pop culture in indoctrinating patriotism

While soldiers fought, state education systems throughout the nation, including Louisiana, saw to it that all students learned to feel like Americans, too. The Louisiana Department of Education issued numerous circulars during the war years intimating steps towards developing a solid sense of American identity and civil defense of the nation. One February 1942 circular encouraged public teachers to have students participate in and celebrate an "I am an American Day" to support the war and foster an American identity. The department also pushed students to read patriotic books like James Frances Dwyer's *The Citizen*, promoting the adoption of American values and identity. School board propoganda played its role in boosting those values and identity, as well. Wartime literature such as *Jump into the Fight with Parachute Troops!* suddenly

[227] "A Brighter Future Looms as Opelousans Celebrate," *Daily World*, 15 August 1945, 1; "Reactions Vary as War's End is Announced," *Houma Courier*, 16 August 1945, 1; "Church Crowded Following Victory Announcement Here," *Weekly Messenger*, 17 August 1945, 1; "Kaplan Citizens Celebrate End of War with Parade and Speaking Wednesday," *Abbeville Meridional,* 25 August 1945, 1; in Bernard, *The Cajuns*, 20-21.

appeared on the schools' reading list. The military itself published and distributed some of these texts. As Shane Bernard has observed: "The state even encouraged students to join the Victory Corps, a coed paramilitary organization that existed to provide students with a curriculum 'basic to citizenship training for American life'."[228]

The Louisiana State Department of Education likewise introduced still further English instruction and with more Louisiana Creole pupils than ever before, wartime nationalism inevitably crept into the classroom. For example, New Iberia High School population climbed from 351 in 1935 to over 600 by the end of the war. IPTS (for black-racialized residents) in New Iberia served the entire parish as both an elementary and secondary education facility where in addition to classes, national musicians and regional music bands like Count Basie, Ella Fitzgerald, Cab Calloway, the Inkspots, the International Sweethearts of Rhythm, and Louis Armstrong entertained locals in Blues. Even at the city's Catholic parochial schools, St. Peter's College for whitened boys, Mount Carmel for whitened girls, and St. Edward School for blackened boys and girls, grew significantly and ensured that students obtained an Anglophone education through English-speaking staff and an Anglophone curriculum.[229]

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[228] Raymond A. Mohl, "Cultural Assimilation versus Cultural Pluralism," *The Educational Forum* 45 (March 1981): 327, 329-30; Tuttle, *Daddy's Gone to War*, 93, 112, 115; John E. Coxe, "How Can the State Defend and Preserve Democracy through Education?" in *Education for the Defense and Preservation of the Democratic Way of Life*, ed. E.B. Robert (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1940), 10; State Department of Education of Louisiana, "Some Efforts of the State Department of Education Relating to National Defense," *Wartime Education in Louisiana Schools*, bulletin 480 (February 1942): 35-44; State Department of Education of Louisiana, "Bibliography," *Wartime Education in Louisiana Schools*, bulletin 496 (December 1942): 10-13, 17; in Bernard, *The Cajuns*, 17.

[229] *Daily Iberian*, 6 September 1951; Vivien A. Mestayer, "The History of the New Iberia High School" (MA thes., Louisiana State University, 1951), 40; in, Conrad, *New Iberia*, 396-97; Egland, "An Historical Overview," 447-48.

Now that large numbers of Creoles knew to read, write, and speak English, the demand for Anglophone literature grew sharply. Before 1900, several papers in Creole communities published in French and Spanish. After World War I, all had switched to English; no daily or weekly paper in the state offered a bilingual French-English (or Spanish-English) nor a monolingual Francophone (or Hispanophone) paper in the state. Anglophone newspapers inevitably drew on a wealth of syndicated national media stories from across the nation. Many of these accounts invariably privileged wartime unity and stressed the moral crusade of America's war effort against totalitarian dictators. During the war, the Anglophone Louisiana Library Commission took Anglicization or Americanization a step further. Students enrolled in schools in cities and towns already had libraries at their disposal to supplement their education in schools. Many rural families lived too far from town centers and could not send their children to school regularly. So in 1942 and 1943, the Commission sent out bookmobiles to loan English-language books to those rural whitened Creole children. English-language materials arrived in Creole laps in new vehicles, clean and orderly libraries in towns, and on freshly printed newspapers and glossy magazines.[230]

Movies and radio also played their role in transforming Creoles during World War II. Chapter two explored the rebirth of movie theaters in the years following World War I and the influence Hollywood played in altering Creole culture. During the early 1940s, cinema continued to play a crucial role in Americanizing Louisiana Creoles and other non-Anglophones. By 1941, all major cities and towns in Teche Country had a movie theater, including the Evangeline in New Iberia, the Jefferson in Lafayette, the

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[230] "The Bayou French of Louisiana," propaganda article, U.S. Office of War Information, ca. 18 August 1944, 4, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.; "Evangeline," U.S. Treasury war bond advertisement, *Abbeville Meridional*, 11 August 1945, 8; in Bernard, *The Cajuns*, 17, 19-20.

Rose in Opelousas, and the Duchamp House in St. Martinville. Lafayette had four separate theaters for black-racialized residents, who proprietors of the other theaters barred from attending the city's main theaters. Movies exerted considerable influence because they required no literacy, and more than literature, they reinforced messages of national unity. Patriotic Hollywood reels and Cowboy or Western genres, with their explicit messages relative to racialization and place-making in American society, provided key means of acculturation. The US government Office of War Information formed in 1942, shaped the propaganda component of Hollywood movies. Thus, the ever popular Hollywood provided a patriotic extravaganza while a series of documentaries provided partisan insight into several battles. Creoles who sat in the theaters watching these movies had, of course, their own stories of self-sacrifice to dwell on, but the constant stream of war movies ensured that wartime Hollywood served as an important buttress to nationalization and heroicization of American war heroes like Spencer Tracy and Robert Mitchum.[231]

Radio filled the void of movie theaters as forms of modern entertainment for those poorer Creoles in far flung communities, as it reached everyone equally and where poor families could not afford their own radio, local saloons and neighbors with more means hosted locals to hear the latest news and American music hits. In 1940, households in Louisiana Creole communities in Teche Country owned more radios than ever before: 20% in St. Martin, 40% in Lafayette, and 50% in Iberia. By 1942, occupied

[231] "Historical Census Browser," 1940, University of Virginia Library, website, accessed 12 March 2015, http://mapserver.lib.virginia.edu/php/county.php; Lyle Saxon, Edward Dreyer, and Robert Tallant, comps., *Gumbo Ya-Ya: A Collection of Louisiana Folk Tales* (New York: Bonanza, 1945; reprint, New York: Bonanza, 1988), 202; Ben Kaplan, Herbert Hamilton, and H. A. Wilson, *Under All ... the Land: A Socio-Economic Study of the Rural Life in Lafayette Parish, Louisiana, 1942* (Lafayette: Southwestern Louisiana Institute, 1942), 11; in Bernard, *The Cajuns*, 20-21. See also Sue Currell, *The March of Spare Time: The Problem and Promise of Leisure in the Great Depression* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 184-86.

households in rural Lafayette Parish alone jumped to 41%. Like other residents of the United States at the time, Creoles read serials like *The Shadow*, *Tom Mix*, and *Jack Armstrong–The All American Boy*. They also listened to President Roosevelt's comforting voice and his regular fire-side chats (a tradition that dated back to 1933). Roosevelt's chats echoed through American parlors with the elder statesman frequently using episodes of national history to provide American audiences with stirring and patriotic updates on the war effort. As his 23 February 1942 speech made clear, Americans like their revolutionary forefathers at Valley Forge, have never "been called upon for such a prodigious effort. Never before have we had so little tire in which to do so much." Creole audiences heard Roosevelt's words through radio and like their compatriots in Chicago or rural Georgia, they too prepared for war.[232]

Military Service: Language and Identity

Many Creoles regarded wartime service as a matter of immense pride and soon joined social forces in Americanizing Creole Louisiana. Robert J. Leblanc explained after the war that he "wanted to be an American." Isidor L. Hébert grunted that he "was always called HE-BERT" [hee bert] because other GIs "could not understand A-BEAR." Common Creole surnames like Préjean [pray zhawñ], Leblanc [luh blawñ], Derouen [deh wañ] Americanized to Preejean [pree jeen], Leeblank [lee blank], and Deeruin [dee ruin]. Such changes prompted some south Louisianians to plea with Americanizing Creoles to at least maintain their original names. "Those of you with pretty French names like Roger, Mouton, Broussard, and the like should be the last ones to allow your names to be changed to the more prosaic English or hill-billy ones," one

[232] Ibid.; Franklin Delano Roosevelt, *Great Speeches* (Courier Corporation, 2012), 125.

military official announced. War time assimilation did not discriminate who it absorbed, however with many Creole servicemen Anglicizing their names as immigrants often did in the early 20th century to Ellis Island.[233]

French and Creole remained the maternal and preferable language for 75% of whitened Creole GIs. Some spoke English, too, but preferred a local language, and American residents continued to "other" Creoles, even as soldiers underwent Americanization in their training camps. The *News and Courier*, a South Carolina paper, observed that "A 'Foreign Legion' has come to Charleston in the French-speaking soldiers from the Louisiana bayous." Under these circumstances, it made sense that English would be the primary language for the Louisiana soldiers, and boot camps would in turn act as their English-language immersion schools. "Now, several speak English only," but "sometimes finds it necessary to find a bilingual fellow officer to help translate the gesticulations and machine-gun rattle of the patois when some emergency arrives," the paper editorialized.[234]

Americanization sometimes overwhelmed the Creole soldiers and many inevitably experienced homesickness while in the service. To combat loneliness from loved ones and home, they prepared Creole food in the mess halls, and used their native tongues to lament. One whitened Creole soldier training in Charleston, South Carolina, a cook in the Army, sang the following ballad to the *News and Courier*:

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[233] I. Bruce Turner, "'Dear Southwesterners': World War II, Southerwestern Louisiana Institute, and the Joel E. Fletcher Newsletters," 1996-97, Southwestern Archives and Manuscripts Collection, University of Louisiana at Lafayette; in Bernard, *The Cajuns*, 10.

[234] Philip Gleason, "Americans All: World War II and the Shaping of American Identity," *Review of Politics* 43 (Oct., 1981): 511-12, 515-16; "Breaux Bridge Boys Get Nice Write -Up in Carolina Paper," *Weekly Messenger*, 30 January 1942, 3 [Reprint from the *Charleston News and Courier*]; in Bernard, *The Cajuns*, 5-7.

Je passerai devant ta porte.	[I passed in front of the door.
Je criai bye-bye la belle.	I cried bye-bye, sweetheart.
Il n'y a personne que me reponde.	There is no one who answers.
Oh, yé yaille! Mon cœur fait mal.	Oh, but my heart hurts.][235]

Creoles and other marginalized people could not help feeling a mix of inclusion and isolation. The assimilationist/nationalist rhetoric of World War II placed a cultural premium on integration and an "us" versus "them" mentality, particularly when it referenced axis nations. Louisiana Creoles joined other immigrant communities in recognizing that "'blend in,' was the wartime imperative: 'Hush, speak English.' We are not German or Italian, or Japanese, or Jewish: 'We are AMERICAN'" went the popular catchphrase.[236]

Whitened Creoles did not encounter the same level of discrimination or marginalization as their brown, yellow, and red relatives, and other peoples of color, but Anglophones humiliated whitened Creoles in service. Anglophone soldiers sometimes used derisive language towards Louisiana Creole servicemen, such as the class and cultural slurs "Frenchie," "Frog," "Coonie," and "Coonass." Delton Joseph Ménard, a Francophone native of rural southwest Louisiana, who trained at Little Rock, Arkansas, recalled "one solider in particular that laughed and made fun of me." "One day," Ménard continued, "we were practicing throwing hand grenades and he kept calling me a coonass

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[235] "Breaux Bridge Boys Get Nice Write -Up in Carolina Paper," *Weekly Messenger*, 30 January 1942, 3 [Reprint from the *Charleston News and Courier*]; in Bernard, *The Cajuns*, 7.

[236] John Morton Blum, *United Against: American Culture and Society during World War II,* Harmon Memorial Lecture no. 25 (Colorado Springs: U.S. Air Force Academy, 1983), 1, 6-7; ibid., *V Was for Victory: Politics and American Culture During World War II* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovitch, 1976), 155, 160-66, 184-85, 191, 202-3, 205-6; Roger Daniels, *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life* (New York: HarperPerennial, 1991), 302-3, 316-17; Richard Polenberg, *One Nation Divisible: Class, Race, and Ethnicity in the United States since 1938* (New York: Viking, 1980), 76-78, Bernard, *The Cajuns*, 6, 8; William M. Tuttle, *"Daddy's Gone To War": The Second World War in the Lives of American Children* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 188.

and making fun of my English." The soldier's taunting inevitably annoyed Ménard, who "finally got fed up and took a dummy hand grenade and hit him on the back of the head with it." One Francophone Creole, L. Harvey Adams, from a rural area between Crowley and Kaplan, recalled being "*very naive*." He explained that he "trusted everyone [because] everyone knew better than [him]." He pointed out that his "Cajun upbringing" encouraged this type of trust and obedience." Some fellow "city-wise kids" took advantage of him, he recalled "dup[ing him] many times." Other Creoles underwent and witnessed the same treatment. Réaux Meaux explained "I couldn't express my thoughts and feelings well in English [...]." As a result, he "couldn't really talk to anyone [because] no one else in [his] outfit spoke French." Other Creole GIs, like Gerald Champagne of Breaux Bridge felt like they "had come from a foreign country." Whatever feeling of difference they felt before the war, it quickly dissipated as a necessity during the war. For service in the war Americanized them so thoroughly that they quickly mastered English and adapted Anglophone cultural values out of necessity.[237]

Effects on Louisiana languages

As already noted, school systems also forced Creoles to conform to the nation state by explicitly seeking to anglicize its Creole students, contributing to, among other things, decline in the transmission of Louisiana languages after 1921. Creoles living in 2015 who enrolled in schools during the early 1940s still complain, lament, and resent that teachers and principals who forced them to kneel on dried rice or corn kernels for speaking their native tongue in class or on the school grounds. As Arlyn Berthier recalls,

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[237] Robin Meche Kube, "Cajun Soldiers During World War II: Reflections on Louisiana's French Language and People," *Louisiana History* 35 (Summer, 1994): 345-47, in Bernard, *The Cajuns*, 8.

> I started school at the time of World War II. We were not allowed to speak or ask the teacher in French to let us go to the rest room or be excused for personal reasons ... If French words were spoken, we were turned over to the principal's office, where this big old man had a set of rubber tubes tied together and we were whipped. The girls caught were punished different, as they were forced to walk around the flagpole with bricks in their hands.

To punish the Creole students, staff members also had them write "I will not speak French on the school grounds" 100 times on chalkboards in school. Some Creoles recall having urinated on themselves, prevented from exiting the classroom or schoolhouse to go use the restroom simply because they could not express those those desires in English. While the state education department did not formally encourage such abuses, Creoles from across south Louisiana recall experiencing and seeing such events. Humiliating events like these inevitably had an enduring impact on young minds and no doubt encouraged school students to speak English more regularly than perhaps they might have chosen. Assimilation therefore came sometimes in the most demeaning of ways.[238]

In a turn of twisted fate, both Anglophone and Americanized Creole school staff members participated in humiliating Creole students. When civil parishes and the state of Louisiana established permanent school systems in southwest Louisiana, school administrators and staff tended to be Anglophones. The 1921 state law banning all languages other than English in Louisiana schools (read: French) accelerated the Anglicizing process, but had limited power at the time since most school age children did not attend school, and Creoles in particular preferred Catholic parochial schools, which still offered bilingual French-English education in its older parochial school programs. The Catholic parochial system soon followed the state's Anglophone requirements, as it

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[238] Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, 255, 259-60; Ancelet, *Cajun Music*, 27; Ancelet, Edwards, and Pitre, *Cajun Country*, xvi, 157; James H. Dormon, *The People Called Cajuns: An Introduction to an Ethnohistory* (Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies, 1983), 70; in Bernard, *The Cajuns*, 18-19.

sought measures to accredit its schools in the 1930s. The Diocese of Lafayette approached the state, since its funding sources – particularly for its nonwhite schools and churches – crumbled once Catholic philanthropists like Katherine Drexel, the SBS, Josephites, and Catholic Mission Societies, channeled money to other regions of the nation and world after 1930. By the World War II years, the small number of Creoles educated in both state and Catholic schools in southwest Louisiana learned English often became some of the very staff opposing the use of Louisiana languages within classrooms.

Louisiana's French and Creole languages in southwest Louisiana consequently came to indicate low class, limited education, and social regression, and inevitably some Creoles shunned the languages. "All their enthusiasm is for modern things and manners," centered around speaking English, one Louisianian recalled. Creole culture came to be associated with backwardness and terms like "bougalie," "swamp rat," and even "Cajun" emerged as class slurs to describe Creoles who still spoke in French and Creole. The linguistic transition occurred quickly. Sixty-three percent of "white" Creoles spoke French or Creole maternally in the five years leading to United States entry into the war. In the five years following the war, that figure fell to 38%. By the end of World War II, even key heartlands of Creole culture gave way with French and Creole languages two of the war's many totalities.[239]

[239] "Lady Who Sings in French' Gathers Louisiana Songs," *Times-Picayune*, 23 March 1941, 6; in Bernard, *The Cajuns*, 18.

Civil Rights Activism

World War II placed nearly every facet of America's racial system under pressure and through clear-sighted assertiveness, Black and blackened citizens came to challenge the apparent color line and the fate Jim Crow had reserved for them at home: they clamored for fair treatment, equal opportunities, and better education. After Pearl Harbor, *Crisis* (the NAACP's publication) argued: "Now is the time *not* to be silent about the breaches of democracy here in our own land." Nowhere was that breach more heavily felt than in the segregated South where black-racialized Anglophones began to subvert and challenge old racial hierarchies. As Ernest Wright, one of America's leading civil rights activists recalled, "people were in a belligerent mood." Black participation in every aspect of the war gave them a powerful argument for equal treatment. They purchased and sold war bonds, worked industries fueling the war, and served in the armed forces. Black-identified Americans channeled wartime activism to demand a greater share of citizenship rights and the elimination of prejudicial practices at work and on the streets.[240]

Even before Pearl Harbor, activism began and collectively, federal authorities could no longer ignore the national movement for equitable civil rights for blackened citizens. A. Philip Randolph's threat of a mass march on Washington, DC led to Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR)'s executive order 8802 of June 1941, banning discriminatory hiring practices and the creation of the Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC) to monitor employers. Widely read black newspapers, like the

[240] "Executive order 9981," Harry S. Truman Library and Museum, website, http://www.trumanlibrary.org/9981.htm, accessed 12 Jun 2015; Lucy Grace Barber, *Marching on Washington: The Forging of an American Political Tradition* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2004); Beth Tompkins Bates, *Pullman Porters and the Rise of Protest Politics in Black America, 1925-1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); Fairclough, *Race & Democracy*, 75-76. Original emphasis.

Pittsburgh Courier, also encouraged blacks at home to fight for equal rights, when the latter launched the "double V" campaign; victory in Europe and victory at home. Militancy culminated in Harry Truman's executive order 9981 desegregating the military. Blackened citizens wanted equal access to all facets of American life.[241]

Black American militancy quickly spread throughout the nation, including in Louisiana, and its black-racialized American strongholds along the Mississippi River and its metropolitan centers, Baton Rouge and New Orleans. When the Southern Negro Youth Conference (SNYC) met in New Orleans in 1940, it launched a "Right to Vote" campaign urging black-racialized Southerners to register. Some blackened Creoles, particularly in New Orleans, followed the lead of black-identified Americans. In November 1940, for instance, a few months after the SNYC conference, Creoles led by Ernest Bayard approached Senator Joseph Cawthorn, a prominent Longite, for the creation of a "colored Democratic party." By 1944, moved both by the SNYC's movement and by FDR's FEPC, teachers in several south Louisiana parishes filed suit in federal court to challenge race-based salary discrimination. Indeed, J.K. Haynes's leadership in the Louisiana Colored Teacher Association (LCTA) brought Louisiana-specific educational discriminatory issues to a larger audience as the LCTA came to work closely with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

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[241] Ibid. The civil rights historiography is vast. See these additional texts: Matthew C. Whitaker, *Peace Be Still: Modern Black America from World War II to Barack Obama* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014); Ibid., *Race Work: The Rise of Civil Rights in the Urban West* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007); Kevin M. Kruse and Stephen Tuck, *Fog of War: The Second World War and the Civil Rights Movement* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); Jonathon Rosenberg, *How Far the Promised Land?: World Affairs and the American Civil Rights Movement from World War I to Vietnam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006); de Jong, *A Different Day*; Sartain, *Invisible Activists*; J. Todd Moye, *Freedom Flyers: The Tuskegee Airmen of World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

(NAACP), whose branches and membership expanded feverishly throughout Louisiana in the early 1940s.[242]

The NAACP had long struggled to make headway in Teche Country. Indeed the paucity of NAACP branches in southwest Louisiana, however, which can be best explained in local Catholicism and Creole attitudes towards outsiders. Adam Fairclough has observed that Catholic churches in Louisiana offered no financial assistance for the development of branches as each church had white-identified priests (until 1934 when four SVD priests of color, all Creoles, entered the Lafayette diocese). The Knights of Peter Claver, the lay Catholic organization for Black and blackened Catholics, with its largest membership in Louisiana, offered some assistance, but Catholics in southwest Louisiana generally disliked outside institutions in their communities. As Raymond Bernard, S.J., a Jesuit priest observed in Vermilion Parish when compiling data on race relations in the Lafayette diocese, "no outsiders [...] could enter in this town [to alter race relations in any way]." One anonymous housekeeper in a priest's house near Gueydan (Vermilion Parish) expressed being ostracized locally as she came from outside of southwest Louisiana. Catholics in the Diocese of Lafayette distrusted outsiders so much,

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[242] C. Alvin Hughes, "We Demand Our Rights: The Southern Negro Youth Conference, 1937-1949," *Phylon* XLVIII (1987): 46; Ernest Bayard, Sr. to State Senator Joseph Cawthorn, 16 November 1940, box 18, folder 20, A. P. Tureaud Papers, ARC; Robert K. Carr, *Federal Protection of Civil Rights: Quest for a Sword* (1947; reprint ed., Ithaca, NY, 1964), 85-94; Raphael Cassimere, Jr., "Equalizing Teacher's Pay in Louisiana," *Integrated Education*, July/August 1977, 3-8; Barbara A. Worthy, "The Travail and Triumph of a Southern Black Civil Rights Lawyer: The Legal Career of Alexander Pierre Tureaud" (PhD diss., Tulane University, 1994), 37-50; Ted McCulley, "Black Protest in Louisiana, 1898-1928" (MA thes., Louisiana State University, 1970), 130; in Fairclough, "Racial Repression," 185-86. Early Louisiana NAACP branches were: Shreveport (1914), New Orleans (1917), Alexandria (1918), Baton Rouge (1919), Monroe (1925). See De Jong, *A Different Day*, 67-68.

as it pertained to questions about race, that they even refused to discuss the topic with priests attempting to study race relations in the area. [243]

In Summer 1943, however, a group of mostly Black-identified Americans born outside of the civil parish and state, and who had recently set up a federal credit union, established an NAACP branch in New Iberia. On Sunday, 25 July 1943, Alexandre Pierre Tureaud, the Creole president of the New Orleans chapter, installed the New Iberia branch's first officers; only one, Herman Joseph Faulk, being Creole. The organization invited prominent whites, like New Iberia mayor William Lourd, to participate in its inception. None attended. Instead, they sent the white-racialized American Catholic Priest from St. Edward Catholic Church in New Iberia to warn the new organization that they would not succeed at much if they pushed for rights too assertively. Iberia Parish Sheriff Gilbert Ozenne, a Creole, likewise chaffed at the idea of an NAACP branch in his parish. Shortly after its inception, however, Ozenne summoned the NAACP's officers to his office where he sternly warned that the organization's activists would be "personally held responsible for anything that may happen in New Iberia." Mayor Lourd also called a meeting of the branch's Board of Directors to discourage organization, "but they organized anyhow," he stated, and the New Iberia chapter registered its charter on 14 June 1943. [244]

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[243] Raymond Bernard, S.J., "Attitudes and Opinions on Race Relations: Report of Field Survey of 42 Communities in a Southern State," ACDL, Race Relations Box, pp. 2, 13, 31; Fairclough, *Race & Democracy*, 72.

[244] Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), "Unknown Subjects: Eviction of Negro Civil Rights Leaders, New Iberia, Louisiana, May 17, 1944," 20 June 1944, 44-999-6; in Fairclough, "Racial Repression," 188, 192. "NAACP Officers Installed at New Iberia," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 7 August 1943, 17. For birthplaces of the officers, see U.S. Federal Census, 13 April 1940, Louisiana, New Iberia, Ward 6, Sheet 63A, Ancestry.com page 83, line 1; Sheila Maroney, "The Branch That Came Back," *Crisis* 76, no. 1 (Jan., 1969): 27. Fairclough, *Race & Democracy*, 87-88.

Creoles, like other Southerners, resented outsiders dictating how to change their communities, and blackened Creoles remained especially cautious of associating with the newly organized NAACP in New Iberia. Shortly after appointing the first officers in 1943, another installation took place naming the black-identified American J. Leo Hardy of Monroe (Ouachita Parish), president. On 15 May 1944, two Sheriff's deputies picked up Hardy and brought him to stand before Sheriff Ozenne and Superintendent of Education, Lloyd G. Porter. Ozenne instructed Hardy to halt communication with the FEPC, the War Manpower Commission, and other "outsiders." Local Creoles of color particularly disliked and distrusted Hardy, who worked as a card dealer and bartender at Uncle Tom's Saloon at the corner of French and Robertson Streets. In fact, the proprietor of Uncle Tom's fired Hardy "because of his constant trouble making and impudence." Creoles felt that Hardy always endeavored "to incite trouble" and expressed reluctance and fear in joining the organization. One local joined "because he was afraid if he did not join the blacks of that community would attack him." Two other locals joined the NAACP branch but resigned, as one of the two put it, shortly after the organization installed Hardy, because "he saw trouble brewing." That former member reasoned that it had been crazy "to agitate the racial situation" when "relations between the whites and blacks in the town had always been the very best."[245]

The NAACP branch nevertheless pressed forward in efforts to change local socioeconomic conditions for nonwhites, ultimately leading to a wave of violence unseen in New Iberia since Reconstruction. Wartime recruitment drained the nation of many whitened tradesmen, particularly welders, and welding schools and employers at the time

[245] Affidavit of Howard C. Scoggins, 31 May 1944, box 34, folder 5, A. P. Tureaud Papers, ARC; FBI report, 7 September 1944, 4, 10-11, 19-20, 29; ibid., 21 September 1944, 10-11, 15; in Fairclough, "Racial Repression," 192, 202.

excluded blackened men in Louisiana. The federal government resolved the wartime shortfall in labor by funding an industrial training program for both whites and nonwhites. The New Iberia NAACP hoped to benefit from this funding by petitioning the Iberia Parish School Board for a trade school for nonwhites in the city and parish, since none existed heretofore. The absence of industrial training, they felt, disadvantaged Black and blackened Iberians who, without training, could not apply for the empty positions in the shipyards, military bases, and other positions during the war years. Moreover, New Iberia had built a training school for whitened students in 1941. Since the federal government gave states and civil parishes the right to use the funds as they saw fit, Louisiana leaders intentionally ostracized nonwhites from the federal trade school program, for they believed that this would remove them from field labor in agriculture, an area of employment which already struggled due to out-migration. However, the prospect of a tradeschool for black-racialized citizens placed nonwhites in direct competition with whites for trade jobs, which had often ended in violent clashes, as seen in Mobile (Alabama), Beaumont (Texas), and New Orleans in 1943. [246]

Influenced and supported by African American activists, one Creole petitioned the Iberia Parish School Board for a welding school for nonwhites, further widening the gap between white and black-racialized Creoles. In Spring 1944, Lawrence Viltz, originally from St. Martin Parish, filed a complaint with the FEPC, stating that the

[246] For information on violence in New Iberia after the Civil War, Senate Congressional Record, no. S6364, 13 June 2005, pp. 1-25; *Times-Picayune*, 26, 27, and 31 January 1889; in Michael James Pfeifer, *Rough Justice: Lynching and American Society, 1874-1947* (Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 79; Mary L. Muller, "The New Orleans Parish School Board and Negro Education, 1940-1960" (MA thes., Louisiana State University in New Orleans, 1975), 10; James A. Burran, "Urban Racial Violence in the South During World War II," in Walter J. Frasier, Jr. and Winfred B. Moore, Jr., eds., *From the Old South to the New: Essays on the Transitional South* (Westport, CT, 1991), 169-70; *Louisiana Weekly*, 19 February 1944; Reed, "The FEPC," 451-55; in Fairclough, "Racial Repression," 190; "Still Another Battle on the 'Home' Front," *New Age*, 1 July 1944, 11.

Iberia Parish School Board rebuffed a request for an industrial school for nonwhites in New Iberia. The NAACP supported his complaint. The FEPC's Dallas office wrote to the superintendent "[t]his office has received statements of complaint made repeatedly by Negroes that they were being denied Federal funds" and in "light of this, we discussed the possibility of beginning a program as quickly as possible." The FEPC sent Virgil Williams, a field examiner, to New Iberia to resolve the dispute. School superintendent Lloyd G. Porter agreed to open the school for nonwhites, operating the school on two six-hour shifts, five days a week. Once Williams departed, arrangements changed. Porter had locals build the school on a white residential street and when the school opened on 7 May, it only offered one shift from 8PM to 10PM. White residents complained of the noise, and the scheduling and location deterred nonwhites from enrolling and attending. The NAACP asked that the school board relocate the training school to a nonwhite neighborhood, which Porter declined. J. Leo Hardy asked the FEPC to intercede again.[247]

When Hardy involved the FEPC a second time, the situation with the welding school for nonwhites in New Iberia led to a violent outbreak that made national news. On 15 May, two Sheriff's deputies arrested Hardy at the welding school. Porter and Ozenne stood in the Sheriff's office waiting. Ozenne gave Hardy until 10AM the next day to leave town, but Hardy lingered in New Iberia throughout the following day. Four deputies pulled up at the saloon at 8PM where Hardy sat outside with friends, arrested Hardy, brought him to the Sheriff's Office, then drove him towards Burke, about five miles out of New Iberia on the St. Martin Parish border. There, deputies brutally

[247] Affidavit of Howard C. Scoggins, 31 May 1944, box 34, folder 5, A.P. Tureaud Papers, ARC; Maroney, "The Branch That Came Back," 26-7.

assaulted Hardy and told him to walk and never look back. On 17 May, Hardy departed Lafayette for Monroe, then California, where he died from a stroke in August. That same evening, deputies picked up several other NAACP members – including Drs. Ima A. Pierson, a dentist, Luins Henry Williams, a medical doctor, and Herman Joseph Faulk, a school teacher – drove them to outskirts of town, and assaulted them. As one officer beat Faulk, he yelled "[y]ou are one of those niggers going around telling other niggers that they will be voting soon. We are going to beat the hell out of you for the first ballot you cast." Within hours, all of the NAACP's standing members, principal of the public school, and the instructor of the training school, fled New Iberia, leaving over $250,000 in real estate and personal effects, and no doctor or dentist of color in the town. For local whites, suppressing the success of the welding school and rise of the NAACP remained crucial in maintaining their supremacy. After a long trial, the justice system indicted neither Porter, Ozenne, nor Walker and dropped the case. Although the NAACP and welding school failed to yield success, the war and influx of well-educated, confident, and insistent African Americans in Teche Country planted the seeds for improved conditions for the more docile black and tan Creoles that incrementally and quietly took form through the 1950s and 60s.[248]

[248] ibid.; Other members who fled town were Dr. Howard C. Scoggins, a physician who set up practice in Pittsburgh, Franzella Volter, a school teacher and NAACP secretary, Dr. E. L. Dorsey, another physician who owned a clinic in New Iberia, Octave Lilly Jr., an insurance salesman, and Roy Palmer. Dr. Luins H. Williams of New Orleans returned to San Francisco, Ca., where he had established a practice in 1942. Affidavits of Luins H. Williams, 20 May 1944; Ima A. Pierson, 20 May 1944; Herman Joseph Faulk, 27 May 1944; all in box 34, folder 5, A. P. Tureaud Papers, ARC; "Testimony of Negro Barber," FBI report, 20 June 1944, p. 27; *Louisiana Weekly*, 27 May, 3 June and 10 June 1944; Affidavits of Howard Scoggins and Octave Lilly; A. P. Tureaud to Rachel B. Noel, 15 June 1944, box 34, folder 6, A. P. Tureaud Papers; in Fairclough, "Racial Repression," 192-93; "New Iberia Terror," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 6 January 1945, pp. 1, 4; "Indict White Terrorists in New Iberia for Victimizing Prominent Negro Doctor," ibid., 14 October 1944, 11; "Still Another Battle on the 'Home' Front," *New York New Age*, 1 July 1944, 11; Maroney, "The Branch That Came Back," 25, 29. U.S. City Directories, California, San

At the same time, Black American assertiveness undermined the educational progress desired and ultimately led to expulsions from New Iberia. African American members of the New Iberia NAACP suffered merciless beatings, leading to the death of J. Leo Hardy four months following the beatings, and Sheriff Ozenne ensured that they looked "east or west" and never return. The handful of Creoles affiliated with the welding school and NAACP endured humiliation and minor physical blows, but remained in – or returned to – New Iberia, however. For example, Herman Joseph Faulk, a native of St. Martinville, who Deputies pistol whipped and berated for being "a smart nigger," remained in the immediate area for a while longer before relocating to Los Angeles. His father-in-law, Abraham Roy, became the first nonwhite to cast a ballot in Iberia Parish since Reconstruction just six years after deputies averred that no nonwhites would vote in Iberia Parish anytime soon. Franzella Volter, the NAACP branch secretary and New Iberia native, later wrote "I came back to New Iberia within a few weeks because I didn't feel at the time that I could afford to let any city or parish official drive me away from my birthplace, and my job and my family." These incidents brought some black and tan Creoles closer to African Americans, helping to transform the last vestiges of ethnic distinction in southwest Louisiana. The added bonus of associating with African Americans for Creoles of color was that they could also benefit from programs like the FEPC designed to improve the plight of "Negroes" in the United States.[249]

Francisco, 1948, page 1003, Ancestry.com; *California Occupational Licenses, Registers and Directories, 1876-1969*, Physicians and Surgeons, Ancestry.com p. 922.

[249] "First Race Voter in Eighty Years," *The Pittsburgh Courrier*, 22 December 1951, p 5; Maroney, "The Branch That Came Back," 28.

Strenuous Relations and Wartime Violence on the Teche

Black activism exacerbated what Iberians had long considered "harmonious" race relations and it caused an immediate rift between whitened and blackened people in Teche Country. In 1942, United States Senate candidate, E.A. Stephens aroused white fears when he warned that nonwhites and sympathizers openly spoke of "social equality" and "forced [it] down the throats of white people." More dangerously, Stephens claimed, "colored organizations are sitting around midnight candles" ostensibly plotting the overthrow of white supremacy. Stephens lost, but his rhetoric prompted leading Creoles like Senator Allen Ellender to underscore his opposition to integration in order to avoid other candidates outflanking him. Congressman F. Edward Hébert of New Orleans followed similar attitudes. That year, he denounced plans to convert the Senator Hotel into a seamen's hostel. Hébert understood the conversion as a "diabolical scheme" to "equalize the negroes and the whites" and to "promote a permanent mixture of the races." Even white liberals stressed the sacrosanctity of segregation during and after the war years. Whitened southwest Louisianians, according to Bishop Jeanmard, treated their blackened brethren "at home as pariahs," robbing them of basic constitutional and human rights. Why? Because they [whitened residents] know longer saw anyone racialized as black as their brethren. This transition had been long coming but by the early 1940s, the gradual dissolution of Creole connectivity and the rise of more viscerally tempered race politics in southwest Louisiana ensured that Creoles no longer stood as one unified and cohered community; the social and political changes of the 1930s and 40s racialized them as white, black, and separate.[250]

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[250] Fairclough, *Race & Democracy*, 88; Charles S. Johnson, *To Stem This Tide: A Survey of Racial Tension Areas in the United States* (Boston: 1943), 65; *Louisiana Weekly*, 5 September 1942; Statement of F. Edward Hebert, n.d., box 15, folder 3, A. P. Tureaud Papers, ARC; in Adam

Even territorial Catholic churches in the Lafayette diocese, whose attitudes Bishop Jeanmard labored so intensely to temper, succumbed to the negative attitudes towards blackened Catholics and prevented the latter from attending services or treated them harshly. One anonymous blackened American pastor serving in Vermilion Parish reported that "a great deal of bitterness exists among the area's whites, especially the French Cajuns." He explained that "certain ones address him even as 'Reverend,' never 'Father' and these are even Knights of Columbus," the national Catholic (white-only) lay organization. Similarly, another Vermilion Parish resident observed that territorial Catholic churches had become so discriminatory and prejudiced that some Catholics of color left Catholicism all together to join black Baptist congregations. "Yesterday," he said, "a lady was buried at the Baptist church who long ago was shoved out of St. Y's. She left because of [racism] but she died with her rosary in her hands." For him, "that has not been good for the Catholic church." Importantly, "[racism] used to be real bad, then it eased up, but now it is starting again," he said.[251]

Whitened priests and Catholic parishioners in the Lafayette diocese not only excluded blackened Catholics from their territorial churches, but they also excluded blackened priests from their church parishes. One blackened Catholic priest observed that "before the establishment of a parish for the Negroes, the pastor of the white church had suggested a special Mass for the colored–a practice then followed for some years. However," he wrote, "when the Bishop suggested to him that the Negro pastor also live at the same residence, the pastor (a foreigner) objected. It was necessary then to build a

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Fairclough, "Racial Repression," 185; Jules B. Jeanmard to the laity and clergy, 9 Oct 1950, Pastoral Circular Letters, vol. VII; May, *The Official Policy*, 16.

[251] May, *The Official Policy*, 10; Bernard, "Attitudes and Opinions," 31, 38.

new residence on the other side of town with a separate church for the colored, because of this objection." In another unidentified town nearby, white priests twice expelled "colored" seminarians from their masses. As far as the pastor of the racial parish observed, "If a Negro says he is satisfied anywhere with the prevalent conditions and treatment, he is a liar" and "Negroes do not trust white men." Indeed, they had no reason to, given the circumstances.[252]

Bishop Jeanmard once again intervened to restore faith among the marginalized blackened Catholics. Between 1940 and 1950, he approved missions or "Catholic revivals" to encourage greater faith and better practice. One such revival took place at Julien Hill near Baldwin (St. Mary Parish) in 1940. Fr. Bowman, S.V.D., a black-racialized priest stationed at the racial parish (church parish for nonwhites) in Duson (Lafayette Parish) conducted the retreat. The revival attracted not only many blackened Catholics, but whitened Catholics also wished to attend, though on this occasion, they sat in their cars outside of the venue. For decades, Creoles of color and their whitened compatriots had shared religious service together. Jeanmard's ministry had attempted to preserve a unified Catholic world, one shaped by Creoles of all colors. By 1940, however, in a fitting reversal of church unity, whitened Creoles sat cocooned in their vehicles, isolated – separated – from those they once broke holy bread with.[253]

Jeanmard's attempts to cross the American color line ultimately proved futile: race became a larger issue than he could handle and violence soon broke out in the diocese. Like others before him, the aptly and nationally named Roosevelt Théodule, a black-racialized Creole, had been dating a white-racialized American named Edith Davis.

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[252] Bernard, "Attitudes and Opinions," 54.

[253] "Negroes End Baldwin Mission," *Catholic Action of the South*, 6 Jun 1940, p 10; May, *The Official Policy*, 16.

Neither party considered their actions wayward norms. Indeed they were norms that both Roosevelt and Edith grew up with in the predominantly Creole settlement of Olivier on the outskirts of New Iberia. Until the early 20th century, marriages and concubinage across the "color line" had worked, even with white women marrying and courting men of color, as discussed in chapter one. But now, such courting became dangerous and criminal. At 5AM on 31 May 1941, Gustave "Gus" Walker, the same Sheriff Deputy involved in the beatings and exile of NAACP members in New Iberia, knocked on Albert Théodule's door in Olivier, asking for Théodule's 28-year-old son, Roosevelt. The father woke his son, who put on overalls, and walked out the door with Walker. A few minutes later, Albert Théodule heard a blast, went outside, and found his son dead with buckshot in the heart. A white Creole, Ella Martin, wife of Cyrus Broussard, who lived in Olivier and well acquainted with Walker, reported to the FBI investigating the case, that Edith Davis, Walker's 16-year-old step-daughter, "had been slipping out at night and going out with Roosevelt Theodule." The morning Walker murdered Roosevelt, Edith had sneaked out of the house to be with Théodule, and when she returned, Walker "forced her" to say where she had been and with whom. The local all-white jury exonerated Walker concluding that "this was a justifiable homicide." When the FBI investigated the NAACP expulsions of 1944 in New Iberia, Agent Cover Mendenhall wrote the following in a report dated 20 June 1944: "It will be noted that Walker has killed two negroes since the middle of 1943 but no charges have been made against him" and witnesses to the expulsions testified that Walker had killed as many as seven persons of color by 1944. Local judicial officials acquitted him on all charges.[254]

[254] Gilbert King, *The Execution of Willie Francis: Race, Murder, and the Search for Justice in the American South* (New York: Perseus Books Group, 2013), 106; *1940 U.S. Federal Census*, 8 April 1940, Louisiana, Iberia Parish, 3rd Ward, Olivier, Sheet 6B, Ancestry.com page 12, lines 76-80.

Another case during the early 1940s in St. Martinville also illustrates declining social relations among Creoles in Teche Country. As with Théodule's murder, racial violence in the following example indicates how race, activism, and a prejudicial justice system failed to protect black-racialized citizens in World War II era Louisiana. Andrew Thomas, a whitened Creole bachelor from St. Martinville, operated a pharmacy in downtown St. Martinville. He employed, among other locals, a 15-year-old blackened Creole named Willie Francis. Locals generally regarded Thomas as homosexual. Bea Nassans, who worked for Thomas, corroborated the rumors when she told James Akers, another local from St. Martinville, that "Andrew Thomas was gay." Stella Vincent Baker, another whitened Creole clerk at Thomas's pharmacy, witnessed "an incident" between Thomas and Francis in a backroom of the pharmacy during which Andrew Thomas yelled and lashed out at Willie Francis. Stella quit her job at the pharmacy after what she witnessed and left St. Martinville forever. On the evening of 7 November 1944, Willie Francis shot and killed Andrew Thomas behind Thomas's garage with a .38 Smith & Wesson, which Francis stole from St. Martin Parish Sheriff Auguste Fuselier.[255]

On 6 September 1945, St. Martin officials indicted the sixteen-year-old for first degree murder of Andrew Thomas and his story soon made headline news for the justice system's failure to protect people of color. Francis confessed to stealing the pistol as well as murdering Andrew Thomas. In an earlier confession in Port Arthur, Texas, where local officials arrested and detained him for robbery, Francis also confessed that the murder was due to "a secret between me and him." Jurors found Francis guilty and sentenced him to death by execution. On 3 May 1946, the execution failed and Francis

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[255] King, *Willie Francis*, 73, 87, 264, 266; "The Two Executions of Willie Francis," *Washington Post*, 19 July 2006.

became the first person in Louisiana history to survive the electric chair. Bertrand de Blanc, a white Creole attorney, took up Francis's case and appealed, averring that a second execution violated the 5th, 8th, and 14th amendments.

Bishop Jeanmard even joined in the fight to block a second execution. On 7 May 1946, the bishop sent a telegram to Louisiana Governor Jimmie Davis in support of a commutation for Francis. "The torture of mind and body through which Willie Francis, St. Martinville negro, has already passed," he wrote, "entitle him in my humble opinion to reprieve and commutation of sentence." "It would be most unfortunate," he continued, "if the impression were created that there is no justice or mercy for a negro in Louisiana." In the 1920s, Jeanmard's voice had worked to mobilize whites to fight against injustices. This time, racism rose above his voice.[256]

The United States Supreme Court rejected, and Francis returned to the electric chair. State officials pronounced him dead at 12 noon on 9 May 1947 at age 18. In both cases, state and federal laws disadvantaged the young blackened Creole: all white juries and judicial officials heard his cases and decided his fate. As a nonwhite, whether Creole or African American, state and federal justice systems in the United States failed to provide the same legal protections to Willie Francis (and so many other nonwhites) as to whites. Despite Jeanmard's best efforts to cross the racial divide and restore some semblance of the unity he had once enjoyed, Willie Francis died in the electric chair. Like Théodule, Francis was a victim and an instigator of divisive racial politics that unfolded beneath the apparent veneer of nationalist integration during the war.[257]

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[256] Jules B. Jeanmard to Governor James Davis, 7 May 1946, ACDL, racism box.

[257] Ibid.

Conclusion

World War II presented many challenges to Americans and Creoles. In many areas of the nation, especially in the South, whitened people widely discriminated against blackened people, and excluded them from voting, even while the Roosevelt administration addressed discrimination in federal contracts. When the war broke out, many vocal black-identified Americans drew analogies between the campaign abroad and the campaign to deliver racial justice at home. A wave of black civil rights activism and militancy ensued. Black Americans, like A. Philip Randolph, a Pullman Car porter, threatened a march on Washington Mall. Under considerable pressure, in 1941, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed executive order 8802 prohibiting racial discrimination in the national defense industry and established the FEPC to monitor racial discrimination in the workplace. In July 1948, President Harry Truman, followed FDR when he signed executive orders 9980 the federal workforce, and 9981, desegregating the United States armed forces.

These sea changes exacerbated tensions between whitened and blackened Creoles as both became more closely allied with White and Black Americans. Many white Catholic priests no longer followed Bishop Jeanmard's directives to accept blackened Catholics into their territorial churches, and whitened clerics even refused entry of blackened priests in their presbytère (Priest's house). Jeanmard attempted to intervene, but ultimately the transformative force of white supremacy and racial difference overpowered his once respected authority.

The war also served to Americanize Creole communities. The war effort unified many Creoles behind the flag and although prejudice continued, many Creoles exhibited enormous pride in their war service. American and Americanized Creole school

personnel in Louisiana likewise forced Creole children to pledge allegiance to the nation state and to speak the English language. Schools promoted patriotic books and movie theaters showed propagandistic film, all serving to ensure allegiance to the United States and modern American values. Sadly, those values did not include other languages, nor did they include mixing between whites and nonwhites in the segregated South.

By 1948, Creoles had morphed into a very different people from those known by their predecessors. They spoke English alongside their Louisiana languages, and some only knew English. They identified as Americans in English, but not as *Américain* or *Mérikin* in French and Louisiana Creole; terms which still denoted an ethnic designation for Anglophone Protestants. In turn, Louisiana languages came to signify low class and backwardness and authorities prohibited the use of French and Creole in public spaces. Historian Shane Bernard was right to conclude that World War II significantly changed Creole communities and converted them into Americanized people. However, it would be wholly inaccurate to suggest that these changes came solely because of the war. Americanization did not begin at Pearl Harbor. As this chapter reveals, the rapid pace of national identification occurred during the war because of historical processes already well advanced in southwest Louisiana. Indeed the shift toward American identities and its southern racial corollary – Jim Crow – occurred over the *longue durée* rather than any spontaneous change due to the war. And it did not entirely result in the effacement of Creole culture and identity. Creoles continued to embrace their Creole culture in certain contexts, like the music industry, where they could sing in their native language about the life they once knew that changed over the years. They became bicultural – Creole and American – people, and in that identity and cultural transformation, they also became whitened and blackened (Americanized) people.

Conclusions: Mostly Americanized Creoles

On 20 May 1942, Albert Colliard, the French-born rector at St. Landry Catholic Church in Opelousas, returned the bishop's diocesan Visitation Report. Like all Visitation Reports, the diocese required that Colliard or his assistants return demographic and spiritual information on parishioners at St. Landry Church. Under "General Questions," question four asked for the nationalities represented at St. Landry Church and Colliard wrote in "mostly americanized Creoles." In less than 25 years, people who in 1917 Catholic priests referred to as simply Creoles, transformed into people identifying with both Creole and American cultures.[258]

That transformation happened through a complex series of events as well as social, economic, and political changes to the nation, region, state, and southwest Louisiana. Those changes (some of them local, others national in scope) exerted pressures on the glue holding Creole communities and culture together. In turn, Francophone Roman Catholicism fractured, the sugarcane plantation complex collapsed and with it a world of work that defined most Creoles' lives. French and Creole languages split and national integration bound the Creole hearth into the American heartland. Before World War I, the Bayou Teche region of southwest Louisiana remained geographically isolated. Few paved roads existed and motor vehicles had not yet entered the market. Its people travelled on horseback, in buggies, by boat, and those who could afford it by train. This geographic isolation fostered the development of community cohesion. And immediate and extended families comprised those communities. Isolation also allowed for the region's traditional culture to persist by

[258] "Annual Visitation Report," St. Landry Church, 1917 and 24 May 1942, RCDL, folder St. Landry.

assimilating outsiders and maintaining cultural boundaries. Locals overwhelmingly spoke the region's Latin-based languages, practiced a Louisiana brand of Roman Catholicism, and had a direct or indirect link to the sugarcane industry. The vocal policies of Louisiana's Catholicism, dating back to the colonial period, favored integrationism or inclusionary practices, and even paved the way for more widespread marriages between people of different physiques. Although discrimination existed within the structure of the church, Creoles of all hues attended Catholic services and preferred priests and nuns who could address them in one of their own local languages. Creoles knew a thing, or two, about Americans, and if there was one thing Creoles did not wish to become, it was American.

Yet the world around them began to change in the 1910s, and soon their isolated culture and region began to change, too. The sugarcane industry, the region's primary economy, which employed more locals than any other industry, entered unpredictable and turbulent times. South Louisiana's fickle climate often killed the older "Creole" varieties of cane planted though crop diseases followed and by decimated large acres of farmland throughout the region. Global sugar prices remained unstable, also, and many sugar growers failed to make ends meet. Climate and price changes led to out-migrations of Creoles and as the labor gangs collapsed, landowners introduced more mechanized equipment to replace them.

Where mechanization proved too costly, African Americans migrated into Creole communities to fill the labor shortage. They were part of a large wave of Anglophone in-migration that changed the local demography. The oil field industry likewise came to diversify the local economy, and with oil came even more English-speaking outsiders from Texas and Oklahoma. Like the African American sugar workers, those newcomers

brought their Protestant denominations with them, and on the eve of World War I, southwest Louisiana had an increasingly visible set of vocal Baptist, Methodist, and other Protestant and evangelical communities, establishing themselves right in the heart of Creole communities. Not only did these migrants build American communities in Creole spaces, but both Methodist and Baptist missionaries converted Catholic Creoles and hired them as French and Creole interpreters and missionaries to increase conversions from Catholicism to their religions. The in-migration of Anglophones continued. As the cane industry shrunk, the Lafayette diocese looked to wealthy American and Irish Catholics for support in building schools and churches, and also staffing them. In 1927, Americans from throughout the nation provided first aid after the flood of 1927. The relief agencies that sent workers and development professionals to the sodden cane fields came to assist, but the presence inadvertently accelerated the processes of national integration.

Creole out-migration from the region persisted, as well. It began with the disastrous sugar crops of the early 1910s, but increased during World War I, when thousands of Creoles abandoned Louisiana for Texas, Illinois, and California, securing better wages and quality of life. The flood of 1927 itself caused an out-migration of thousands of Creoles from Bayou Teche, too, who ultimately headed to Lake Charles and southeast Texas. Others relocated during the Depression years and although the New Deal and Huey Long's progressive agenda eased the lives of many former cane hands, opportunities elsewhere beckoned and Creoles joined other migrants in the southern rural exodus on the road to California. And World War II not only drafted thousands of Creoles to fight in the Pacific and Europe, but scores more fled southwest Louisiana to work in defense jobs in other cities and states, but also filled vacant

positions in other industries outside of Louisiana. These successive waves of out-migration gave rise to Creole diasporic communities in southeast Texas and California, where communities and streets adopted Louisiana place names. Susan Walker's two highway projects of the late 1910s paved the way for in-migration and out-migration, but they paled in comparison to Huey Long's statewide road pavement and graveling commission from 1928 to 1931. By then, people from throughout the nation purchased motor vehicles and Dudley Leblanc and Susan Walker ensured that they visited Teche Country to spend their tourism dollars while experiencing romanticized, white, 18th century Acadian culture.

These changes profoundly altered the everyday culture of the Creoles indigenous to southwest Louisiana. After 1921, when English became the only official language in Louisiana schools, Creoles began to learn the language and during World War II, some schools even imposed English through humiliation and abuse. English-speaking Catholic communities invested in the growth of the Lafayette diocese, but they imposed English language and racial separation: the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament and Fathers of the Holy Ghost only catered to Native Americans and communities of African descent. State schools also segregated on a binary racial basis. Racial integration largely persisted in residential patterns in Creole communities, but social life outside of school and church also segregated theaters, social organizations, and even medicine separated according to race.

A community that had once enjoyed a remarkable degree of integration (in racial and cultural terms) became segregated over time. Southwest Louisiana's historical trajectory fundamentally differed from other parts of the segregated South, including other communities in Louisiana. But race difference finally came to define even a once

integrated world. Fifty years ago, the American South's most distinguished scholar, C. Vann Woodward, talked of lost opportunities in southern racial relations. He dated those to the 1880s but as this thesis has made clear, there existed pockets of inter-racialism that extended well beyond the type of inter-racial unionism studied by Daniel Letwin or Jarod Roll. On the banks of Bayou Teche and in the midst of America's cane sugar complex, a world of inter-racialism persisted, but only as long as it remained relatively isolated from the American mainstream. When the slow moving water of the Teche entered the quick moving flow of American life, the once unified Creole community gave way and with it race and racial difference stamped its authority over the region, splitting Creoles along a color line.

Throughout this thesis, I have used the terms "blackened" (or "black-racialized") and "whitened" ("white-racialized") to capture the malleability of "race" and the way that communities and lawmakers have racially marked – to recycle Thomas Holt's expression – people as phenotypically and culturally diverse. In southwest Louisiana's Creole world, rigid racial binaries could not capture the complexity and flexibility of physical differences. For in truth, until the 1910s, Creoles did not necessarily see identity or race in quite the same way as other US citizens or Southerners. Of course they knew full well that Jim Crow defined the public sphere, but in the privacy of their homes and communities, Creole unity overrode racial concerns. In time, however, Creoles would begin to see race and experience it in both public and private spheres. They became racially marked or in the parlance of this thesis, racially whitened or blackened. Creoles did not call each other by those terms, but they have been employed consistently throughout this thesis to capture the ways that a once polyglot, unified, and multicolored community became racially marked as whiten or black. For historians of the American

South more accustomed to reading/using binary terms, whitened and blackened may come as a surprise. But I have employed them deliberately and consciously to describe a process by which Creoles (and Americans) became racialized over time and separated into racial groups.

By World War II, this process of racialization neared completion. Yet those southwest Louisiana Creoles who remained on the land also became a fully bicultural Creole and American people. Today, Cajun and Creole are household names. Louisianians and outsiders have transformed the terms into global brands and thus across the globe, restaurants serve gumbo, jambalaya, and other stock dishes from south Louisiana. The global rise of Louisiana's Creole cuisine has been a remarkable success story to a region that faced a miserable 20th century. Cajun dances and fais dodos occur on stages and tourists still visit Breaux Bridge and St. Martinville in the elusive search for a true Cajun. As this thesis has made clear, however, Cajuns are Creoles marked as white and different over the course of the 20th century. Cajunized Creoles shared languages, cuisine, churches, and economics with their blackened Creole brethren. For these communities, the history of the first half of the 20th century brought irrevocable change. No longer one community, they became two, and no longer culturally isolated, they became biculturally Creole and American. Racialized and nationalized, southwest Louisiana's Creole communities entered the post World War II era as a new people – not quite fully American and not quite fully Francophone anymore, they marched into the modern era a truly bicultural people.

By the World War II years, southwest Louisiana Creoles who had remained on the land, became fully bicultural Americanized Creole people. They spoke more English than ever before, understood and even identified with American cultural norms and

identity. But their transformation did not entail annihilation or erasure. Like the Hispanophone indigenous peoples in the American Southwest and the Amish and others in Pennsylvania, they adapted their new American culture to coexist with their older Creole folkways. Dudley Leblanc and Susan Walker ensured that Creoles and Americans knew and remembered Acadians. Leblanc, Bishop Jules Jeanmard, and music companies also guaranteed a place for French and Creole languages in postwar southwest Louisiana.

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Chapter One Images, Maps, and Charts

Image 1 Hue Recognition in Creole zones versus American zones

- Sources: Top - Rosalie Julien; bottom left - Shirley Bastien Dale; bottom center - Rodney Sam; bottom right - Tabitha Britten

Identification. Top: Brothers Benny, Numa Jr., Leed, and Léonard Julien. Bottom left to right: Polycarpe Bourda, Charlie Marsh, and Rev. Isom Sanders Sr.

Creole census marshals described the Julien brothers and Polycarpe Bourda as mulatto in Iberia Parish censuses, whereas American marshals in Ascension and de Soto Parishes consistently racialized Isom Sanders and Charlie Marsh as black or Negro. [1]

[1] Isom Sanders in census enumerations:
1920 census in Ascension, Police Jury Ward 7, District 14, Page 26, Line 52, indexed in ancestry as "Seam Sanders" and in the 1930 census Ascension, Ward 7, District 11, Page 4, line 55, indexed in ancestry as "Isom Saunders"

Charlie Marsh in census enumerations:
1910; Census Place: Police Jury Ward 4, De Soto, Louisiana; Roll: T624_512; Page: 9B; Enumeration District: 0070;
1920; Census Place: Police Jury Ward 4, De Soto, Louisiana; Roll: T625_610; Page: 16B; Enumeration District: 110; Image: 320. 1930; Census Place: Police Jury Ward 4, De Soto, Louisiana; Roll: 790; Page: 16A; Enumeration District: 13
1900; Census Place: Police Jury Ward 4, De Soto, Louisiana; Roll: 563; Page: 14B; Enumeration District: 55.

Julien brothers in census:
USC 1920 Louisiana, Iberia Parish, Police Jury Ward 4, District 15, page 10, [Farm] Dwelling 90: entire household mulatto.

Polycarpe Bourda in census:
USC 1920 Louisiana, Iberia Parish, Police Jury Ward 4, District 14, page 24: BOURDA, Policar[appears as Pabcor Bourda in ancestry.com directory]; entire household mulatto.

Cléoma Breaux Falcón
"Mon dernier Bonsoir"

J'ai fait mon idée
De m'en aller, cher,
Quand tu partiras, belle, c'est pour toujours,
Observe-moi bien, cher
Pour la dernière fois,
Donne-moi ta kiss, babe
Pour me dire goodbye, cher
--Fais pas ça !

Regarde voir le char, nègre
Donne-moi un ticket
Pour voir m'en aller si loin que je peux,
Et dans les tracas,
Je vas t'oublier, mon nègre
Mon tracas oublié, cher,
Où je vas mourir là.
--Ça, ça me fait du mal.

Cléoma Breaux Falcón
"My Last Goodnight" (Translation)

I had an idea
To go away, babe
When you leave, beauty, it's for good,
Pay close attention to me, babe
For the last time,
Give me a kiss, sweetie
To wish me goodby, baby
-- Don't do that

Check out the car, *nèg*
Give me a ticket
For me to go as far away as I can,
And in all the brouhaha,
I will forget you, my *nèg*
My troubles forgotten, baby,
Where I will die.
--Now that, that hurts me.

Image 2 "Mon dernier bonsoir" by Cléoma Breaux Falcon

Amédé Ardoin
"Valse Brunette"

Ô, malheureuse, moi, j'après m'en aller
Toi, 'tite fille, moi, j'suis pas à ta maison.
Ô, joli cœur, éoù c'est que moi, je vas aller
Tu t'en vas, toi toute seule, malheureuse.

Ô, chè', je m'en vas, m'en vas à la maison
Toi, catin, tes parents veulent pas de toi,
Ô, éoù je vas aller pour être capable mais, donc, te rejoindre?
Toi, jolie, ta mame veut pas me voir.

Ô, jolie fille, rappelle-toi, éoù t'étais assise, yé yaï,
Donc, aussi haut dans la porte de ta maison
Ô, t'après me 'garder, toi, quand moi, m'après passer
Dans le grand chemin, toi, moi, c'est moi, tout seul.

Ô, yé yaï, yé yaï, toi, tes parents
Ils t'ont 'gardé, toi, toi, après me dire bonsoir,
Mais malheureuse, t'aurais pas dû faire tout ça
Tu m'as fait en passant devant ta porte.

Amédé Ardoin
"Brunette Waltz" (Translation)

Oh, sad one, I'm leaving
You, sweet thing, I'm not at home.
Oh, dear heart, where will I go
You're leaving alone, heartbroken.

Oh, sweetie, I'm off to my house
Your parents want nothing of you,
Jesus, where on earth will I be able to see you,
Honey, your mom doesn't want to see me.

Oh, love, remember where you sat,
High as the door in your house
You're watching me as I pass
along the way, but it's I who am all alone.

Ohhh, lord, you, your parents
They watched you tell me goodnight,
But sadly, you shouldn't have done that
which you did as I passed in front of your door.

Image 3 "Valse brunette" by Amédé Ardoin

"Aunt" Samantha Biddix Bumgarner
"Worried Blues" (1924)

Got the worried blues (x3)
Can't be worried this a-way.

See you when your troubles are like mine (x3)
See you when you can't change a dime

Got the worried blues ...

Bound down in the jail (x3)
No one to go my bail

Honey babe would you [or "won't you"] go my bail (x3)
Can't be worried this a-way

Goin' down this long lonesome road (x3)
Can't be worried this a-way

Honey babe, don't leave me here (x3)
Unless you leave a dime for beer

Got the worried blues ...

Goin' down this long lonesome road ...
Got the worried blues ...

Image 4 "Worried Blues" (1924) by Samantha Biddix Bumgarner

Image 5 Bayou des Glaises crevasse during flood of 1927

Source: Mississippi River Flood of 1927 Album (Mss. 4373), Louisiana and Lower Mississippi Valley Collections, LSU Hill Memorial Library

Image 6 Downtown St. Martinville from Bridge and Main Streets

Source: Center for Louisiana Studes, University of Louisiana at Lafayette

Image 7 Camp Hamilton Refugee Camp, Opelousas

Source: Center for Louisiana Studes, University of Louisiana at Lafayette

Image 8 Refugee camp for whites in Lafayette

Source: Louisiana Digital Library
http://cdm16313.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/singleitem/collection/LSA/id/824/rec/47

Image 9 Île Copal refugee camp for nonwhites outside of Lafayette City

Source: University of Louisiana at Lafayette, SLI Photograph Album 2, 1927-1934, page 36, number 1141

Image 10 Mildred Shell of Bastrop, Louisiana

Monroe News-Star, 5 March 1929, p 1.

Image 11 Evangeline Girls Meet Mrs. Hoover (1929)

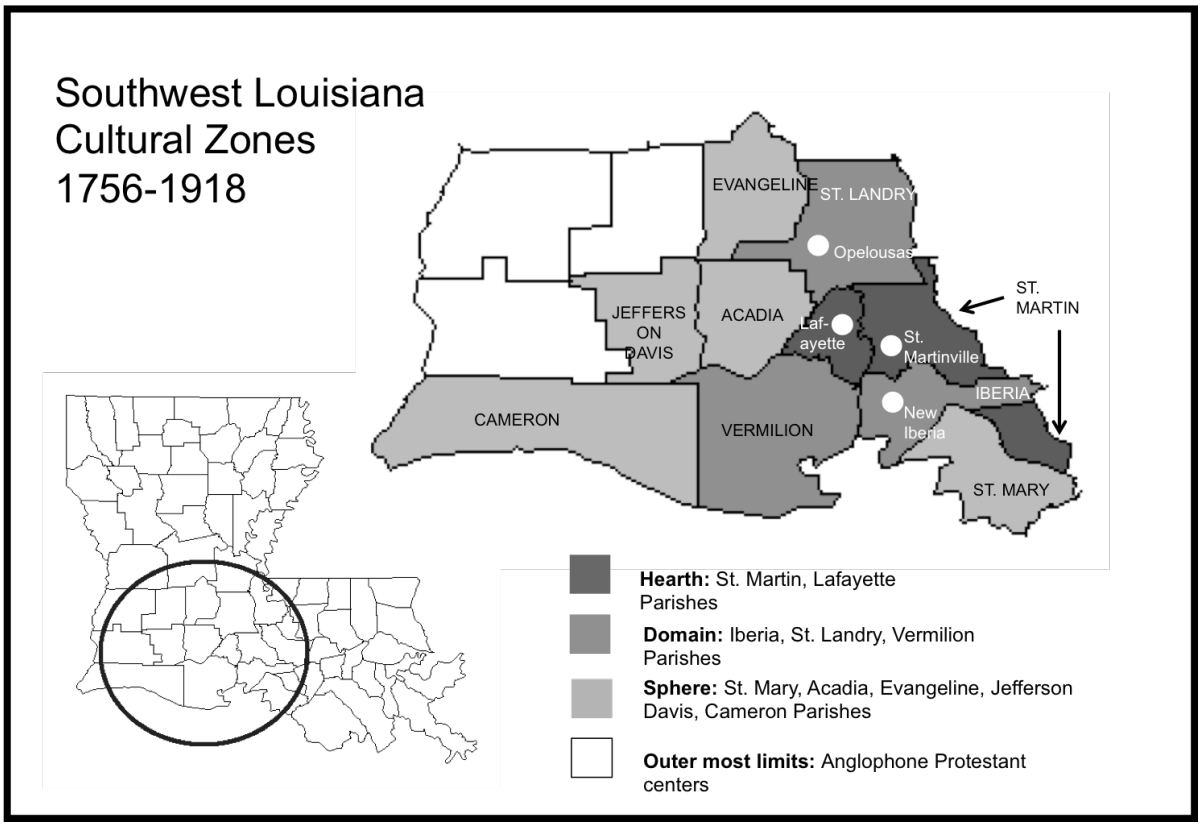
Left to right: Mildred Shell, Lucille Newlin, Mrs. Hoover, Monita Gary, Pearl Anding, and in back, Mrs. Allen Astor Anding (Susan Walker)

Source: *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 8 March 1929, p. 24.

Image 12 Louisiana Highway Commission's Paved Road Program Map

Source: The Louisiana Digital Library
http://louisdl.louislibraries.org/cdm/ref/collection/HPL/id/146

Maps



Map 1 Southwest Louisiana Cultural Zones Through 1918

Tables

Some surnames at the German Coast settlement of 1720

Original surname	Creolized surname
Dubs	Toups
Foltz	Folse
Friedrich	Frédéric
Heidel	Haydel, Haidel
Hüber	Oubre
Matern	Matherne
Träger	Trègle, Trègre
Troxler	Trosclair
von Arensberg	d'Arensbourg, Darensbourg
Wachenbach	Waguespack
Wagner	Waggoner
Wichner	Vicknair
Wögel	Voegel

Table 1 Source: 1724 Census of the German Coast

Some American Catholics marrying Creoles in southwest Louisiana

Creole	Date	American
Aucoin, Marie Félicité	2 October 1787	Faulk, Joseph (Father)
Broussard, Victoire	27 May 1810	Faulk, Joseph Pierre (Son)
Duhon, Marie Azalée	20 Nov 1839	Faulk, Joseph Camilien (Grandson)
Stelly, Catherine	7 April 1809	Steen, Elias
de la Houssaye, Marie Jeanne Charlotte Émérite	14 January 1911	Harry, Jacob
Guidry, Marie Célestine	20 October 1812	Eastin, Ransom (Father)
Fontenette, Marie Antoinette Octavie	9 October 1848	Eastin, Richard Taylor (Son)
Guérinière, Marie Gabrielle	18 December 1872	Eastin, William Butler (Grandson)
de Gradenigo, Aimée Agathe	2 August 1803	Voorhies, Cornelius (Father)
Mouton, Marie Cidalise	1826	Voorhies Jr., Cornelius (Son)
Potier, Modeste	1859	Voorhies, Félix A. (Grandson)
Leblanc, Marie Émélite	16 June 1838	Greig, William (Father)
Fournet, Marie Louise Laure	14 May 1879	Greig, Charles "Carlos" (Son)

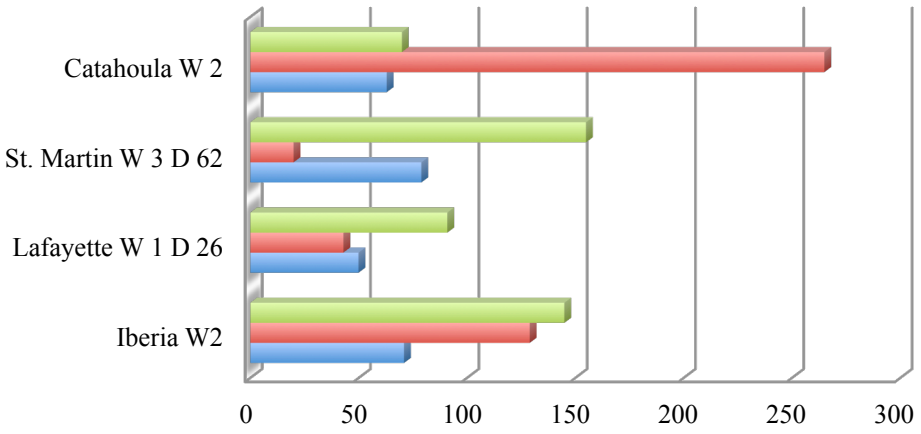
Table 2 Source: Southwest Louisiana Records, CD-Rom & US Marriage Records Ancestry.com

Creole identification in Teche area Catholic churches

Report year	Church	Priest	Identification
1912	St. Martin St. Martinville	Joseph Thébault - French	"Almost all Creoles"
1914	St. Landry Opelousas	John Engberink - Dutch	"Creoles: white 3,400, colored 4,000"
1914	St. Peter Carencro	Grimaud - French	"Creoles"
1914	Sacred Heart Grand Côteau	Grace - American	"About 1/2 Negroes: 5/6 French, 1/6 English"
1915	St. Martin	Trotoux - French	"All Creole people"
1916	St. Nicolas Lydia	Catherin - French	"All are Creoles"
1920	Sacred Heart	Frankhauser - French	"All are born in this district"
1924	St. Peter New Iberia	Langlois - French	"Mostly of Creole stock"
1928	Ibid.	Ibid.	"Creoles in great majority 9/10, Americans or English speaking, Italians, about 100, Syrians 50"
1936	Sacred Heart	Latiolais - Creole	"French origin mostly"
1941	St. Peter New Iberia	Langlois - French	"Mostly of Creole descent"

Table 3 Source: Annual Canonical Visitation Reports, ACDL

Tenancy per parish and race in 1920



	Iberia W2	Lafayette W 1 D 26	St. Martin W 3 D 62	Catahoula W 2
White	145	91	155	70
Black	129	43	20	265
Mulatto	71	50	79	63

Table 4

Louisiana civil parishes with highest mulatto count

	Parish	% of Total	All Mulattoes	% Change
1	Plaquemines	19%	1918	-7,72%
2	West Feliciana	19%	2352	+27,82%
3	Lafayette	18%	5510	+38,46%
4	St Landry	17%	8877	+13%
5	St Martin	17%	3649	-17,64%
6	Madison	15%	1520	+77.99%
7	Pointe-Coupée	14%	3358	-.94%
8	Cameron	13%	309	+27%
9	Lincoln	13%	2181	+40.44%
10	West Baton Rouge	13%	1487	-11.22%

Table 5 Source: 1920 US Census [1]

[1] Parish-wide figures compiled from the 1920 US Census. St. Martin Parish reported a net decline of more than 17% of its mulatto population between 1910 and 1920. This decline is due, in large part, to a discrepancy in the database of ancestry.com, which, in 1920, conflates black, white, and mulatto, regardless of what the actual designation is in the census. Therefore, many inhabitants are cross-referenced in ancestry.com's database as being mulatto, black and white, simultaneously, significantly increasing each race's population figures. Additionally, some Mulattoes in 1910 in St. Martin Parish were classed as Whites, or as Blacks in 1920.

In seven of the ten parishes in the table, French, Spanish and Creole were spoken in 1920; the remaining three were predominantly Anglophone. Sugar was grown in Plaquemines, Lafayette, St. Landry, St. Martin, accounting for the highest percentage of parish-wide mulattoes in 1920, exception to West Feliciana, and the remaining parishes growing cotton, corn, and, in the case of Cameron (and Plaquemines) parish, a hotbed for the fisheries industry.

Non-Louisiana residents residing in southwest Louisiana

	1850	1860	1870	1880		1900	1910	1920	1930
St. Martin	957	624	782	667		500	444	287	233
St. Mary	964	1268	3,166	4,129		4,417	3,694	1,892	1,313
Lafayette	251	580	457	465		741	886	797	1,195
St. Landry	990	924	3,180	2,475		2,178	2,386	1,756	1,709
Vermilion	225	49	324	480		1,181	796	642	612
Iberia			1,388	1,818		1,914	1,393	991	875

Table 6 Source: US Census

Generational Intermarriage at Grand Marais

Groom	Community of Residence	Marriage Date	Bride	Community of Residence
Olivier, Casimir	Grand Marais	19 Jan 1828	Frilot, Carmésile	Grand Marais
Olivier, Louis Valmont Casimir	Grand Marais	Liaison	Frilot, Marie	Grand Marais
Olivier, Victor	Grand Marais	22 Feb 1909	Peters-Boutté, Jeanne Élizabeth	Grand Marais
Olivier, Peter Edwin	Grand Marais	18 May 1944	Ozenne, Geneviève Léa	Grand Marais
Boutté, Eugène-Pierre	Grand Marais	23 Dec 1822	Olivier, Isabelle-Adélaïde	Grand Marais
Boutté, St-Çyr	Grand Marais	6 Jan 1870	Loignon, Félicie	Grand Marais
Boutté Jr., St-Çyr	Grand Marais	6 Dec 1897	Broussard, Gracieuse	Petite Anse
Boutté, Luc	Grand Marais	10 Jan 1931	Olivier, Marie Alosia	Grand Marais
Frilot, Philippe-Aimé	Grand Marais	4 Nov 1809	Olivier, Félicité Aspasie	Grand Marais
Frilot, Louis Aimé	Grand Marais	8 Feb 1847	Reed, Honorine	Grand Marais
Frilot, Alexandre	Grand Marais	12 Feb 1874	Frilot, Madeleine	Grand Marais
Frilot, Noémie	Grand Marais	11 Feb 1904	Olivier, Joseph Omère	Grand Marais
Arnaud, Joseph Vincent	France	Liaison	Frilot, Arthémise	Grand Marais
Vincent, Jules	Grand Marais	14 Apr 1869	Délille, Judithe	Grand Marais
Vincent, Ignace	Grand Marais	4 Sept 1880	Vincent, Madeleine	Grand Marais

Table 7 Source: Southwest Louisiana Records

Generational Intermarriage at St. Martinville

Groom	Community of Residence	Marriage Date	Bride	Community of Residence
Boisdoré, Pierre-Auguste "Chéry"	St. Martinville	10 Jan 1846	Rochon, Marie-Céleste	St. Martinville
Rochon, Hyppolite	St. Martinville	9 Feb 1870	Chéry, Marie Aurore	St. Martinville
Chénier, Félix	St. Martinville	26 Oct 1896	Rochon, Adélaïde Eugénie	St. Martinville
Chénier, Joseph Antoine	St. Martinville	22 Jan 1924	Robertson, Ida	St. Martinville
Aubry, Martin	New Orleans	19 Nov 1811	Ozenne, Lucille	St. Martinville
Aubry, Maximilien	St. Martinville	28 Jun 1854	St. Julien, Joséphine	St. Martinville
Rochon, Jean Alphonse	St. Martinville	16 Jan 1869	Aubry, Élisabeth	St. Martinville
Rochon, Jean Joseph Émile	St. Martinville	2 Dec 1902	Baker, Françoise Clothilde	St. Martinville
de la Houssaye, Louis Étienne Alexandre	St. Martinville	31 Jul 1786	Pellerin, Jeanne Louise	St. Martinville
de la Houssaye, François Balthasar	St. Martinville	20 Aug 1862	Champagne, Modeste Louise	St. Martinville
de la Houssaye, Nicolas Balthasar	St. Martinville	23 Jul 1849	Champagne, Claire Lise	St. Martinville
Nepveux, Félix	St. Martinville	10 Jul 1893	de la Houssaye, Bernadette	St. Martinville
Le Normand, Joseph Marin	St. Martinville	12 Apr 1806	Cazelar, Isabelle Pouponne	St. Martinville
Landry, Joseph Darcourt	St. Martinville	27 Jan 1829	Le Normand, Marie-Louise-Eucharistе	St. Martinville
Nepveux, Auguste Joseph	St. Martinville	26 Sept 1867	Landry, Rose Félicie	St. Martinville
Le Normand, Arthur	St. Martinville	25 Jan 1875	Nepveux, Émilie	St. Martinville

Table 8 Source: Southwest Louisiana Records, St. Martin Parish Civil Marriages

Appendices

Appendix A

Database of mixed race marriages in 18th and 19th century southwest Louisiana

Party of Color's Name	Date of Marriage	Location of Marriage	White Party's Name	Birthplace White Party
Lemelle, Marianne Julie	21 July 1786	Opelousas	Gallot, Jean-Baptiste	France
Drake, John	18 May 1800	St. Martinville	Abshire, Rosalie	Louisiana
del Castillo, Marie Gertrude	18 Aug 1801	Opelousas	Martin, Guillaume	France
Paillet, Catherine	26 Jan 1801	New Orleans	Guillot, Jules	France
Le Normand, Modeste-Arthémise	6 July 1801	St. Martinville	Landry, Joseph	France
Paillet, Marie-Louise	4 May 1804	New Orleans	Gurle, Charles	France
Décuir, Eugénie	22 Apr 1806	New Roads	Polard, Louis	France
Guillory, Marie-Josèphe	23 Feb 1808	Opelousas	Mateo, Juan Agusto	Mexico
Le Normand, Marie-Aimée	1 Aug 1808	St. Martinville	Henriot, Charles-David	Switzerland
Neuville, Marie	11 Sept 1809	St. Martinville	Boulerisse, Jean-Baptiste	Mobile
Broutin, Jeanne Charlotte	12 Sept 1812	St. Martinville	Le Normand, Marin Pierre	New Orleans
Pene, María Estefania *dite*	1 Jan 1815	Opelousas	Cortínes de los Santos, Tomás	Spain
La Motte, Marie-Céleste	6 Aug 1817	Donaldsonville	Gaubert, Pierre Jacob	France
Malvaux, Marie Rosalie *dite*	12 Aug 1817	Opelousas	Nieto, Cayetano	Mexico
Verret, Héloïse	15 Feb 1819	Donaldsonville	Gaubert, André	France
Esclavon, François	21 Mar 1838	Opelousas	Nelson, Sarah	Louisiana
Landry, Louise Estelle	30 Apr 1840	St. Martinville	Gauthier, Charles Amédé	France
Vincent, Marie Aglaë	25 May 1846	New Iberia	Latiolais, Étienne Moïse Alcée	Louisiana
Nelson, William	9 Jun 1852	Charenton	Darden, Thérèse	Louisiana
Gaubert, Félonise	16 Nov 1857	Houma	Chanfreau, Jean-Pierre	France
Gaubert, Joséphine	16 Nov 1857	Houma	Larrieux, Jean	France
Beck, Mary	12 Oct 1860	Grand Côteau	Arceneaux, Alexandre	Louisiana
Landry, Rose Félicie	26 Sept 1867	St. Martinville	Nepveux, Auguste Joseph	France
Landry, Alexandre Darcourt	26 Sept 1867	St. Martinville	Hulin, Marie Idéa	Louisiana
de Penne, Félicie	26 Feb 1867	St. Martinville	Meslin, Désiré	France
Rochon, Eugénie	2 May 1867	St. Martinville	Thériot, Joseph Hildebert	Louisiana
Le Normand, Charlotte	23 Sept 1867	St. Martinville	Gautreaux, Joseph	Louisiana

Appendix B
Database of mixed race marriages in Reconstruction southwest Louisiana

Party of Color Name	Date of Marriage	Location of Marriage	White Party Name	Birthplace White Party
Frilot, Anastasie	18 Feb 1868	New Iberia	Brettmayer, Eugène	Switzerland
Landry, Léontine	18 Jan 1869	St. Martinville	Berry, Thomas Jefferson	Louisiana
Le Normand, Jean Baptiste Ursin	29 Mar 1869	St. Martinville	Devereaux, Mary Sarah	Louisiana
Turpeau, Eulalie	8 June 1869	St. Martinville	Auger, Jules Romain	France
Godeau, Alphonsine	15 Nov 1869	Washington	Regouffre, Joseph Gonzague	France
Isidore, Paméla-Charlotte	4 Dec 1869	St. Martinville	Detiège, Édouard	Belgium
Dartès, Roséline	6 Dec 1869	St. Martinville	Bordier, Joseph	France
Fontenette, Marie-Louise	7 Dec 1869	St. Martinville	Detiège, Louis Joseph	Belgium
Benoît, Marie-Louise	7 Dec 1869	St. Martinville	Martinet, Pierre Hyppolite	Belgium
Landry, Joseph Dorsily	18 Dec 1869	St. Martinville	Broussard, Marie Clélie	Louisiana
Profil, Anne "Manette"	2 May 1870	St. Martinville	Veazey, Adolphe	Louisiana
Aubry, Céleste	7 May 1870	St. Martinville	Girouard, Joseph Marcel	Louisiana
Collette, Sidonie	8 Sept 1870	New Iberia	Bolívar, Albert	New York
Boudreaux, Marie Azélima	15 Mar 1871	Youngsville	Girouard, Norbert	Louisiana
Landry, Amédée	10 Apr 1871	St. Martinville	Landry, Marie Éliska	Louisiana
Bertia, Cidalise	30 Aug 1871	Opelousas	Roy, Noël	Louisiana
St. Julien, Joséphine	11 Apr 1872	Youngsville	Hébert, Joseph Éraste	Louisiana
Vavasseur, Aimée Bazile	16 May 1874	Convent	Hartman, Joseph Exhart	Alsace
Le Normand, Charlotte Pouponne	20 Jan 1875	St. Martinville	Broussard, Simon	Louisiana
Le Normand, Eléonore Ladoïska	12 Oct 1875	St. Martinville	Broussard, Jules	Louisiana
Rochon, Marie Élodie	17 Sept 1876	St. Martinville	Lasalle, Jean Adélard	Louisiana
Guidry, Ophélia	5 July 1878	Opelousas	Thibodeaux, Louis	Louisiana
Victorian, Zoé	10 July 1878	Opelousas	Fontenot, Policarpe	Louisiana
Darby, Marcélite	9 May 1879	New Iberia	Bourgeois, Valcour	Louisiana
Bonnet, Marie Ophélie	18 Jan 1881	New Iberia	Rosier, Philibert H.	France
Landry, Charles Gaston	7 Feb 1881	St. Martinville	Badeaux, Marie Madeleine	Louisiana
Boulerisse, Olive	22 Oct 1881	St. Martinville	Stansbury, George Robert	Louisiana
Guillory, Hilaire	19 Apr 1882	St. Martinville	Hartgrave, Héleine	Louisiana
Auger, Alexandrine Julia	15 Feb 1884	St. Martinville	Guilbeau, Gonsalvèz	Louisiana
Orso, Michaëlle	10 Apr 1884	St. Martinville	Faucher, Alexandre	France
Pottier, Amelia	31 Dec 1884	New Orleans	Baumgardner, William	Louisiana
Champagne, Marie Charlotte Cora	15 Jan 1885	St. Martinville	Ménard, Ulger	Louisiana
Champagne, Marie Émilie	19 Jan 1885	St. Martinville	Hulin, Arcade	Louisiana

Chévis, Azélie	12 Jul 1886	Opelousas	Higgins, James	Louisiana
Loignon, Jean	17 Mar 1887	New Iberia	Smith, Mary-Ann	Louisiana
Boudreaux, Marie Azélima	9 Dec 1887	Lafayette	Girouard, Joseph Marcel	Louisiana
Halloway-Eaglan, Amélie	16 Jul 1888	Opelousas	Guidry, Edmond Placide	Louisiana
Boulerisse, Anastasie	10 Apr 1889	Abbéville	Bruno, Charles	Louisiana
Potier, Modeste	10 Aug 1890	Church Point	Guidry, Onésime Louis	Louisiana
Champagne, Marie Adélaïde Lydia	13 Nov 1890	Youngsville	Vice/Vaise, Arthur Jules	Louisiana
Vital, Marie Vitaline	19 Jan 1891	Loreauville	Morales, Émile	Mexico
Orso, Adèle V^ve^ Hilaire Décuir	1 Mar 1891	St. Martinville	Gros, Auguste	France
Nepveux, Léonie	4 Nov 1892	St. Martinville	Schärer, Jacob	Switzerland
Landry, Marie Berthe	6 Feb 1893	St. Martinville	Ménard, André	Louisiana
Champagne, Marie	13 Feb 1893	St. Martinville	Thériot, Gustave	Louisiana
Nepveux, Félix	10 Jul 1893	St. Martinville	de la Houssaye, Bernette	Louisiana
Champagne, Eléonore Rosa	5 Oct 1893	St. Martinville	Ménard, Gaston	Louisiana
Locus, Élizabeth	23 Dec 1893	Breaux Bridge	Thibodeaux, Onésime Élisée	Louisiana

Appendix C
Discussion on racializers in Louisiana

Father Donald Hébert, a Catholic priest from southwest Louisiana published a chart in his ten plus volume of Catholic sacramental records in the Lafayette diocese. His chart erroneously copied and pasted terms from the 1797 *Description de l'isle de Saint-Domingue* by Médéric Louis Élie Moreau de Saint-Méry on terms Moreau found in use on Saint-Domingue (Haiti) that year. However, most of the terms Hébert copied were not used in Louisiana (e.g. *sacâtre*, *maribou*, *mamelouque*, *sang-mêlé*) and cannot be found in a single record in his database of Catholic sacramental records in southwest Louisiana.

In *Afro-Louisiana History and Genealogy, 1719-1820*, a database on slaves and free people of color in colonial and early national Louisiana, Gwendolyn Midlo-Hall equally provides for the "racial identity" of each entry with often puzzling terms unfound in the documents themselves. For instance, the database contains 6,191 entries for "mulatto rouge," another fourteen entries for "mulatto griffe," one entry for "octoroon," and one entry for "chino." One example of a mulatto rouge is said to be a four year old named Manon, inventoried in 1787 on the estate of the late Jean L'Abbé. She, along with her mother and siblings, per *Afro-Louisiana* were "racialized" as "mulatto rouge" in the succession at St. Martinville's courthouse. However, when the estate of Jean L'Abbé, late resident of the Attakapas District, was pulled to verify, no terms for the family existed, at all. In both Hébert and Hall's case, the importation of terms not used in the Louisiana Creole context has distorted our understanding of terms used by ordinary Creoles, as well as by clergypersons and official civil records in Louisiana.

Appendix D

Acadian Surnames Creolized

Source: Acadian Memorial, Ensemble Encore, Family Names [database], St. Martinville, La.

Original surname	Creolized surname[1]
Arcement	Arsement
Arsenau	Arceneaux
Au Coing	Aucoin
Babinau dit Deslauriers	Babineaux
Bariau	Barilleaux
Benoist	Benoît
Berthrand	Bertrand
Boudrot	Boudreaux
Bourg	Bourque
Brassaud	Brasseaux
Brasseur	Brasseux, Brassieur
Bro, Brot	Breaux, Braud
Brossard (de Brossard)	Broussard
Bugeaud	Bijeaux, Bujeau, Bugeaux
Cahouet	Caillouet, Caillouette
Chaison	Chiasson
Comau, Como	Comeaux
Crochet	Crouchet, Crochette
d'Aigle	Daigre
d'Eon, d'Eion	Duhon
de Forest	Forêt
Douairon	Doiron
Doucet	Doucette
du Gast	Dugas
Dupuis	Dupuy
Godet	Gaudé, Gaudet
Gaudrault, Gauterot	Gautereaux
Giroir, Girouère	Girouard
Godin	Gaudin
Guédry	Guidry
Guilbaud	Guilbeau, Guilbeaux
Ébert	Hébert
Haché	Archer, Hachet
Heusé, Isé	Uzé, Uzée
Jeanson	Jeansonne
Langliné	Langlinais
Lanoue	Lanoux
Le Bourgeois	Bourgeois
Le Mire	Mhire, Mire
Le Prince	Prince
Le Vavasseur	Vasseur

[1] Creolized here means spelled in a manner unique to Latin Louisiana. Many of these surnames underwent changes in Canada after the deportations, also. Some spellings, like Braud, emerged both in Louisiana and in post-deportation Canada. Several Acadian names were common in France and, in earlier and later periods, French immigrants to Louisiana carried names commonly associated with Acadians (e.g. Landry, Leblanc, Doucet, Crochet, Guérin, Lavergne, Lambert, Lavigne, Pellerin, Préjean).

Mélanson	Mélançon, Mélonson
Meunier	Mounier
Pétry	Pitre
Potier	Poitier, Poché
Richer	Riché
Rivet	Rivette
Robicho	Robichaux, Robicheaux
Saulnier	Sonnier
Semer	Sémère, Simaire, Simar
Terrio	Thériot
Thébau	Thibeaux
Tibodau	Thibodeaux
Trahamp	Trahan
Turcot	Turcotte

Appendix E
Catholic sodalities in some Teche churches

Sodality	Nonwhite	White	Unclear	Mixed Races	St. Peter (Iberia)	St. Nicholas	St. Martin	St. Paul	Sacred Heart
Altar Society			√		√			√	
Altar Society for Boys			√		√				√
Apostleship of Prayer			√						√
Blessed Virgin Mary				√				√	√
Blessed Virgin Mary Unmarried Colored Girls	√								√
Blessed Virgin Mary Married Colored Women	√								√
Bonne Morte/Bona Morta			√		√			√	√
Boys & Girls Sodality			√		√				√
Boys Scouts		√			√				
Catholic									
Catholic Daughters			√		√				
Catholic Student Mission Crusade			√		√				
Catholic War Veterans			√						
Christian Doctrine			√		√				
College Mothers' Club			√		√				
Confraternity Catechist			√		√	√			
Dames d'autel (Women/Ladie Altar Society)				√	√	√	√		√
Enfants de Marie (Children of Mary)	√					√	√		√
Holy Childhood			√						√
Holy Name			√		√			√	√
Knights of Columbus		√			√		√		
Knights of Peter Claver	√								
Ladies' College Club		√			√				
League of Sacred Heart		√				√			√
Mother's Club		√							
Propagation de la foi			√		√		√		√
St. John Berchman Altar Society for Boys			√				√		√
St. Joseph Society	√						√	√	
St. Vincent de Paul			√						√
Sodality Colored Women & Girls	√								√
Usher Society			√						√

Appendix F
East Carencro Demographics Lafayette Parish 1910

Enumerator: Edmond Charles VOORHIES

LANGUAGES

Heads	French	English	Total
	220	81	301
	73%	27%	

Households	Bilingual Households	89	30%
	Anglophone Only Homes	17	5%
	Francophone Only Home	181	60%
	Unreported	14	5%

SURNAMES

Surnames	Latin	Anglo	Anglo Creole	Total
	132	5	28	165
	80%	3%	17%	

RACES

Races	Mulatto	Black	White	Total
	442	442	852	1736
	25%	25%	50%	

SURNAME FREQUENCY

1	Préjean (28)
2	Broussard (27)
3	Guilbeau (21)
4	Babineaux (19)
5	Domingue (17)

Appendix G
Grand Marais Demographics 1910

Enumerator: Robert E. FREEMAN

LANGUAGES

Heads	French	English	Total
	34	34	68
	50%	50%	

Households	Bilingual Households	43	63%
	All Can Speak English	13	19%
	Francophone Only Home	10	15%
	Unreported	2	3%

SURNAMES

Surnames	Latin	British	Anglo Creole	Total
	28	5	2	33
	85%	15%	0%	

RACES

Races	Mulatto	Black	White	Total
	176	27	176	379
	46%	8%	46%	

SURNAME FREQUENCY

1	Boutté (13)
2	Olivier (8)
3	Bonin (6)
4	Ronsoné (5)
5	Broussard (5)

Appendix H
Grand Bois Demographics 1910

Enumerator: L. N. MÉLANÇON

LANGUAGES

Language of Heads	French	English	Total
	353	41	394
	90%	10%	

Bilingual Households	126	32%
Anglophone Only Homes	21	5%
Francophone Only Home	247	63%

SURNAMES

Surnames	Latin	Anglo	Anglo Creole	Total
	132	4	8	142
	93%	2%	5%	

RACES

Races	Mulatto	Black	White	Total
	144	442	1171	

SURNAME FREQUENCY

1	Thibodeaux (31)
2	Leblanc (20)
3	Landry (15)
4	Guidry (15)
5	Broussard (15)

Appendix I
Surname Frequency at Grand Bois in 1910

Surname	Recurrence	Creole	Non-Creole
Abraham	2	1	
Alex	1	1	
Alexander (Alexandre)	3	1	
Alexandre	8	1	
Allemant (Alleman)	2	1	
Anderson	1	1	
Ariquille	1	1	
Auguilliar (Auguillard)	5	1	
Auguste	3	1	
Babino (Babineaux)	1	1	
Baras (Barras)	3	1	
Basquien	1	1	
Batiste	2	1	
Belaire (Belair)	3	1	
Bérard	1	1	
Berry	1	1	
Bertrand	3	1	
Bienvenue (Bienvenu)	1	1	
Bijeau	1	1	
Blanchard	7	1	
Bossier	1	1	
Boudreaux	1	1	
Boyd	1	1	
Boyer	4	1	
Brasseur	1	1	
Braud	2	1	
Brooks	1	1	
Broussard	15	1	
Caillier	1	1	
Caline (Carlin?)	1	1	
Carter	1	1	
Castille	14	1	
Célestin	1	1	
Cémaire (Sémère)	1	1	
Cénet (Sénet)	1	1	
Champagne	7	1	
Charles	2	1	
Chrétien	2	1	

Cormier	9	1	
Courville	1	1	
Daigle	2	1	
Dautreuille (Dautreuil)	2	1	
Davis	4	1	
Degéter (Degueytaire)	5	1	
Déjean	3	1	
Delcomb (Delcambre)	1	1	
Devillier	2	1	
Domingue	1	1	
Doucet	2	1	
Dugas	1	1	
Dumartré	1	1	
Dupléchin	1	1	
Dupuis	5	1	
Edmond	2	1	
Eugène	1	1	
Félix	1	1	
Flamon	1	1	
Fontenet	2	1	
François	1	1	
Frederick (Frédéric)	1	1	
Gallentine	2	1	
Gatch (Gathe)	1	1	
Gaudet	2	1	
Gillard	1	1	
Gobard	4	1	
Gousserand	1	1	
Green	2	1	
Guidroz	1	1	
Guidry	15	1	
Hanes	1	1	
Hanks	2	1	
Hardy	3	1	
Hébert	5	1	
Henry	3	1	
Hollier	4	1	
Honoré	1	1	
Hosley	2	1	
Huval	9	1	
Jackson	1	1	
Joe	1	1	
John (Jean)	10	1	
Jolivette	2	1	
Joseph	2	1	

Judice	1	1	
Kerchenter?	1		1
Lagrange	1	1	
Landry	15	1	
Langerin	1	1	
Latiolais	6	1	
Laviolette	2	1	
Leblanc	20	1	
Lédet	5	1	
Lewis (Louis)	5	1	
Lindor	1	1	
Lukas	1	1	
Martin	2	1	
Martinez (Martinet)	1	1	
Mélançon	9	1	
Ménard	3	1	
Miller	1	1	
Morvant	1	1	
Müller	1	1	
Nepveux	1	1	
Noël	2	1	
Patin	4	1	
Paul	2	1	
Pellerin	4	1	
Picard	1	1	
Pierre	2	1	
Pittre (Pitre, Pettre)	2	1	
Pottié (Potier)	3	1	
Rice	2		1
Riché	1	1	
Riggs	1		1
Riggs	2	1	
Robert	10	1	
Romio	1	1	
Sam	1	1	
Savoy	1	1	
Shérèr (Schärer)	1	1	
Solaris	1	1	
Solomon	2	1	
Sonnier	2	1	
St. Julien	3	1	
Sylvestre	3	1	
Tauzin	4	1	
Thériot	5	1	
Thibodeaux	31	1	

Thomas	3	1	
Trahan	3	1	
Trosclair	2	1	
User (Uzé)	2	1	
Vallère (Valère)	1	1	
Victor	1	1	
Vincent	1	1	
Washington	5		1
Wèbre (Weber)	1	1	
William (Guillaume)	4	1	
Wilson	1	1	
Wiltz	6	1	
Zénon	3	1	
Zimermman	2	1	
		138	4

Appendix J
Surname Frequency in Carencro in 1910

Surname	Recurrence	Creole	Non-Creole
Abbadie	2	1	
Allen (Allain)	1	1	
Andrus	2	1	
Angèle (Angelle)	3	1	
Arseneaux (Arceneaux)	14	1	
Babineaux	19	1	
Baqué	4	1	
Barrio (Barilleaux)	1	1	
Bazille (Basile/Bazile)	1	1	
Begueneaux (Bégnaud)	1	1	
Benoît	2	1	
Benton	2	1	
Bernabé	1	1	
Bernard	16	1	
Bertrand	1	1	
Bijo (Bujeau)	2	1	
Boudreaux	1	1	
Boulanger	1	1	
Bourque	1	1	
Brasseux	3	1	
Breaux	15	1	
Briscoe	1	1	
Bromer	1	1	
Broussard	27	1	
Brown	1	1	
Brunot (Bruno)	5	1	
Buckley	1		1
Cadet	3	1	
Carmouche	8	1	
Carrière	2	1	
Chargois	1	1	
Chiason (Chiasson)	8	1	
Cinquième	6	1	
Clavelle	1	1	
Clay	1	1	
Clouse	4	1	
Collins	2	1	
Collo	1	1	
Colomb	1	1	

Comeau	6	1	
Connolly	3	11	
Cormier	13	1	
Counque	1	1	
Coussan	3	1	
Crédeur	1	1	
Crouchet	1	1	
Daily	1		1
Darzin	6	1	
David	5	1	
Declouet	1	1	
Delhome (Delhomme)	4	1	
Dennis	1		1
Domingue	17	1	
Dorian (Doiron)	2	1	
Dorman	2	1	
Drinking	1	1	
Dugas	6	1	
Dupléchin	1	1	
Dupuis	8	1	
Duralle (Duralde)	2	1	
Edyson (Edison)	2	1	
Esprie (Esprit)	1	1	
Falcon (Falcón)	1	1	
Félix	1	1	
Fisette	1	1	
Francèz	4	1	
Fuselier	1	1	
Galien	1	1	
Gibson	1	1	
Gilbert	2	1	
Gilchrist/Kilchrist	8	1	
Glaude (Claude)	3	1	
Gobart	1	1	
Grangé (Granger)	1	1	
Grant	1		1
Green	2	1	
Guchereau (Juchereau)	1	1	
Guidroz	1	1	
Guidry	12	1	
Guilbeau	21	1	
Guillot	1	1	
Hamilton	2	1	
Hardy	1	1	
Hébert	1	1	

Harris	2	1	
Henry	2	1	
Hilaire	2	1	
James	1	1	
Jean	1	1	
Jenkins	1	1	
Jolivette	2	1	
Jones	2	1	
Joseph	1	1	
Lagrange	1	1	
Landry	1	1	
Lanérie	2	1	
Lebert	2	1	
Leblanc	10	1	
Legee (Léger)	1	1	
Leroy	1	1	
Lewis (Louis)	4	1	
Little	1	1	
Living	14	1	
Loma	1	1	
Magnon	1	1	
Malbroux (Malborough)	6	1	
Malette (Mallet)	1	1	
Maman	1	1	
Mamère	2	1	
Marks	3	1	
Martin	4	1	
Matthew (Mathieu)	3	1	
Mèche	1	1	
Mélançon	8	1	
Mercier	2	1	
Meyer	2	1	
Miles	1	1	
Mouton	13	1	
Naquin	1	1	
Navade (Navarre)	2	1	
Normand	3	1	
Olivier	2	1	
Pans	1	1	
Paul	2	1	
Peltier	7	1	
Pilette	1	1	
Pitre	2	1	
Poché	1	1	
Portalis (Portalice)	1	1	

Potier	2	1	
Poursio (Pourciau)	1	1	
Poydrasse (Poydras)	6	1	
Préjean	28	1	
Quédé	1	1	
Richard	14	1	
Richard	1		1
Rey	1	1	
Sam	2	1	
Sampé (Sampey/St. Pé?)	1	1	
Savoie	3	1	
Sayan	1	1	
Sayna (Zehner)	3	1	
Scipion	2	1	
Sénégal	12	1	
Shelvan (Shelvin)	2	1	
Simon	2	1	
Simpson	2	1	
Singleton	3	1	
Smith	2	1	
Smolley	1	1	
Sonnier	13	1	
Stelly	6	1	
Strouss (Strauss)	1	1	
Syse (Sias)	4	1	
Thibodeaux	2	1	
Thomas	1	1	
Valentin	1	1	
Vèbre (Weber)	1	1	
Vincent	1	1	
Voorhies	2	1	
Walker	1	1	
Washington	1	1	
White	3	1	
William	2	1	
Wood	4	1	
	579	160	5

Appendix K
Surname Frequency in Grand Marais in 1910

Surname	Recurrence	Creole	Non-Creole
Beauteaux (Buteaux)	1	1	
Bonin	6	1	
Boutté	13	1	
Broussard	5	1	
Daigre	2	1	
Darby	3	1	
Décuir	2	1	
Delahoussaye	4	1	
Devince	1	1	
Dickerson	1		1
Domingue	1	1	
Duprey (Dupré)	1	1	
Hébert	3	1	
Jeanminette	2	1	
Laday (Lédé)	1	1	
Landry	2	1	
Leblanc	3	1	
Lemaire	1	1	
Lognon (Loignon)	3	1	
Louvière	3	1	
May	1		1
Migueze (Míguez)	6	1	
Mitchell	1		1
Olivier	8	1	
Ozenne	1	1	
Racheaux	1	1	
Raggette	1	1	
Ranson (Ransom)	1		1
Ransoné (Ransonet)	5	1	
Redo (Rideaux)	1	1	
Simeon	1	1	
Spencer	1		1
Waggoner (Wagner)	1	1	
	87	28	5

Appendix L
Lafayette Diocese churches established before World War I

	Name of Church	City	Civil Parish	Year Founded[2]
1	St. Martin	St. Martinville	St. Martin	1756[3]
2	St. Landry	Opelousas	St. Landry	1776
3	Sacred Heart[4]	Grand Côteau	St. Landry	1819
4	St. John Cathedral	Lafayette	Lafayette	1821
5	St. Peter	New Iberia	Iberia	1823
6	Immaculate Conception	Charenton	St. Mary	1843
7	St. Bernard	Breaux Bridge	St. Martin	1847
8	St. Mary Magdalen	Abbéville	Vermilion	1851
9	Church of the Assumption	Franklin	St. Mary	1853
10	St. John Francis Regis	Arnaudville	St. Landry	1853
11	Immaculate Conception	Washington	St. Landry	1854
12	Sacred Heart of Jesus	Ville Platte	Evangeline	1854
13	St. Anne	Youngsville	Lafayette	1859
14	St. Nicholas	Patoutville	Iberia	1868
15	Immaculate Conception	Lake Charles	Calcasieu	1869
16	Our Lady of Mount Carmel	Chataîgnier	Evangeline	1869
17	St. Joseph	Rayne	Acadia	1872
18	St. Joseph	Loreauville	Iberia	1873
19	St. Peter	Carencro	Lafayette	1874
20	St. John the Evangelist	Jeanerette	Iberia	1879
21	St. John the Baptist	Mermentau	Jefferson Davis	1882
22	Sacred Heart of Jesus	Broussard	Lafayette	1883
23	St. Leo the IV	Roberts Cove	Acadia	1883
24	Our Lady of the Sacred Heart	Church Point	Acadia	1883
25	St. Helena	Louisa	St. Mary	1890
26	St. Joseph	Cecilia	St. Martin	1891
27	Our Lady Help of Christians	Jennings	Jefferson Davis	1891
28	St. Joseph	Patterson	St. Mary	1892
29	St. Joseph	Iota	Acadia	1892
30	St. Alphonse	Maurice	Lafayette	1893
31	Sacred Heart of Jesus	Port Barré	St. Landry	1894
32	St. Leo the Great	Léonville	St. Martin	1896
33	Immaculate Conception	Lebeau	St. Landry	1896
34	Our Lady of the Holy Rosary	Kaplan	Vermilion	1896
35	St. Michael the Archangel	Crowley	Jefferson Davis	1897
36	St. John	Henry	Vermilion	1897
37	Our Lady of the Lake	Delcambre	Iberia/Vermilion	1898
38	St. Anthony of Padua	Eunice	Acadia/St. Landry	1902
39	Sts. Peter and Paul	Scott	Lafayette	1904

[2] Dates provided on the websites of the Diocese of Lafayette (www.diolaf.org) and individual ecclesiastic parish websites.

[3] Records begin in 1756; parish officially bounded in 1765.

[4] Now called St. Charles Borromeo Catholic Church

40	Sacred Heart of Jesus	Baldwin	St. Mary	1906
41	Our Lady of Seven Dolors	Welsh	Jefferson Davis	1907
42	St. Peter the Apostle	Gueydan	Vermilion	1907

Appendix M
1910 Demographics at Avery Island

Enumerator: John H. HAMILTON

LANGUAGES

Language of Heads	French	English	Italian	Total
	0	47	4	51
	0%	92%	8%	

Bilingual French-English Homes	1	1%
Anglophone Only Homes	47	92%
Francophone Only Home	0	0%
Italian or other	4	7%

SURNAMES

Surnames	Latin	Anglo	Italian/German	Total
	8	37	8	53
	15%	70%	15%	

RACES

Races	Mulatto	Black	White	Total
	29	100	59	188
	15%	53%	31%	

MOST FREQUENT SURNAMES

1. Spencer
2. Thibodeaux
3. Brown
4. Hayes
5. Houston

Appendix N
1910 Demographics at Bulls Tree Farm

Enumerator: Robert FREEMAN

LANGUAGES

Language of Heads	French	English	Other	Total
	0	32	0	32
	0%	100%	0%	

Bilingual French-English Homes	0	0%
Anglophone Only Homes	32	100%
Francophone Only Home	0	0%
Italian or other	0	

SURNAMES

Surnames	Latin	Anglo	Other	Total
		22		22
	0%	100%	0%	

RACES

Races	Mulatto	Black	White	Total
	0	32	0	32
	0%	100%	0%	

MOST FREQUENT SURNAMES

1. Williams
2. Jones
3. Johnson
4. Brooks
5. Moore

Appendix O
1910 Heads of Households at New Iberia on East Main Street

	Name	Birthplace of head or parents*	Whether Head is Creole
1	Blanchard, Oscar		√
2	Burke, Walter J.		
3	Cade, Elizabeth		
4	Caldwell, Homer	New Jersey	
5	Conrad, Joe		
6	Delahoussaye, Arthur		√
7	Delahoussaye, Frank		√
8	Delahoussaye, René		√
9	Dinares, Sam	Italy	
10	Disch, William	Mississippi	
11	Dulny, Louis	Virginia	
12	Emmer, Albert		
13	Estorge, Albert		√
14	Estorge, Edward		√
15	Fargot, John A.		
16	Fisher, Melvin W.		
17	Gates, Alfred	New York	
18	Gibbs, Urilus		
19	Gilbert, John	Pennsylvania	
20	Grund, William H.		
21	Hayes, David		
22	Hedh, Anistine	Germany	
23	Henderson, John W.		
24	Henshaw, Charles	Missouri	
25	Inneman, Christian	Germany	
26	Landry, Paul		√
27	Lee, Charles		
28	Morse, Sedonia		
29	Murray, Anselm	Texas	
30	Newman, John B.		
31	Pearle, Ralph G.		
32	Phister, Louis	Germany	
33	Rubert, Felix		
34	Russell, Joseph P.	Austria	
35	Sanders, Gordon A.		
36	Saxon, William	Alabama	
37	Scharff, Morris	Germany	
38	Schwing, Flora		√
39	Segura, Peter		√
40	Voorhies, Alex		√
41	Weeks, William	Virginia	
42	White, John	Illinois	
43	White, Lester		
			10 Creoles

Appendix P
Jim Crow mixed race marriages along the Teche

Party of Color Name	Date of Marriage	Location of Marriage	White Party Name	Birthplace White Party
Champagne, Céleste Ida	10 Jan 1894	Charenton	Ménard, Florian	Louisiana
Champagne, Geneviève Ladoïska	7 Feb 1898	Charenton	Bonnet, Ulysse	Louisiana
Champagne, Marie Irma	9 Feb 1899	Charenton	Ménard, Paul	Louisiana
Champagne, Hyppolite Gaston	1902	Charenton	Bonnet, Ida Émma	Louisiana
Champagne, Marie Mathilde	21 Dec 1911	Charenton	Bonnet, Philibert	Louisiana
Landry, Eva Marie	25 Jan 1898	St. Martinville	Hulin, Joseph	Louisiana
Landry, Cécile	22 Feb 1900	St. Martinville	O'Flougherty, Thomas	Louisiana
Landry, Alexandre Benjamin	23 Jan 1899	St. Martinville	Hulin, Azélie	Louisiana
Landry, Joseph Dumas	12 Feb 1896	St. Martinville	O'Flougherty, Victoire	Louisiana
Landry, Charles	28 May 1900	St. Martinville	Dugas, Ida	Louisiana
Le Normand, Frank Ursin	24 Jun 1896	Lafayette	Chargois, Louise	Louisiana
Le Normand, Charles Jr.	21 Jan 1895	St. Martinville	Garry, Mascila	Louisiana
Le Normand, Idéa	16 Dec 1894	St. Martinville	Poirier, Joseph Jr.	Louisiana

Appendix Q
Some Creole marriages intercommunity marriages

St. Martin & Lafayette Parishes

Bride	Birth parish	Marriage date	Groom	Birth parish
Claude, Cécile	(Carencro) Lafayette	6 Jan 1900	Valien, Gabriel	(B. Bridge) St. Martin
Perrodin, Thérèse	(St. Martinv.) St. Martin	20 Feb 1900	Bosset, Jean Delzène	(Broussard) Lafayette
Bosset, Marie Aimée	(Broussard) Lafayette	28 Jun 1900	Narbonne, Julien Aurélien Dumas	St. Martin
Breaux, Joséphine Albertine	(B. Tortue) St. Martin	11 Dec 1900	Landry, Neuville	(Broussard) Lafayette
Broussard, Marie Olympe	(B. Tortue) St. Martin	29 Feb 1904	Girouard, Walter	(Broussard) Lafayette
Labbé, Marie Rose	(Broussard) Lafayette	25 Jan 1905	Aubry, Martin E.	(B. Tortue) St. Martin
Daniel, Louise Cécile	(Youngsville) Lafayette	4 Jun 1906	Detiège, Ange Raphaël	St. Martin
Aubry, Marie-Rose	(B. Tortue) St. Martin	4 Feb 1907	Babin, Joseph Émile	Lafayette
Labbé, Émétilde	(Broussard) Lafayette	1 Jul 1907	Aubry, Willie	(B. Tortue) St. Martin
Tournoir, Marie Estella	Lafayette	14 Sept 1910	Ashford, Thaddeus	St. Martin
Labbé, Marie Rose	(Broussard) Lafayette	19 Feb 1917	Aubry, Léonard	(B. Tortue) St. Martin
Aubry, Marie Eunice	(B. Tortue) St. Martin	24 Jul 1917	Broussard, Élie	(Broussard) Lafayette
Auguillard, Marie Blanche	(Grand Bois) St. Martin	15 Oct 1918	Pelletier, François	Lafayette

St. Martin & Iberia Parishes

Bride	Birth parish	Marriage date	Groom	Birth parish
Destouet, Émma	Iberia	29 Jun 1900	Abat, Félix Willy	St. Martin
St. Julien, Victoria	St. Martin	9 Jan 1901	Destouet, Ambroise	(Côteau) Iberia
Boutté, Jeanne Adléa	Iberia	16 Oct 1902	Malveaux, Joseph Gaspard	St. Martin
St. Julien, Gastonia	St. Martin	7 Jan 1903	Décuir, François Aristole	(Côteau) Iberia
Boutté, Marie Ernestine	Iberia	9 Jun 1903	Narbonne, Norbert Joseph	St. Martin
Boutté, Pauline Berthe	Iberia	14 Jul 1904	de Kerlégand, Joseph Octave	St. Martin
Benoît, Marie Isabelle	St. Martin	16 Apr 1905	Frilot, Henry	(Olivier) Iberia
Landry, Marie-Thérèse	St. Martin	6 Dec 1906	de Blanc, David	(Olivier) Iberia
de la Houssaye, Lucie	(Côteau) Iberia	18 Dec 1906	Orso, Antoine Aramis	St. Martin
Lorins, Octavie	St. Martin	4 Feb 1908	Broussard, Jules	Iberia

Thériot, Lillia	St. Martin	23 Sept 1908	Décuir, Georges	Iberia
Décuir, Marie Lucléna	Iberia	17 Feb 1909	Thériot, Télismar	St. Martin
Chatman, Mary Emma	(Segura) Iberia	1910	Jean-Baptiste, Clément	(Cade) St. Martin
Décuir, Stéphanie	(Côteau) Iberia	1 Mar 1910	Briant, Mozart Ildebert	St. Martin
de Kerlégand, Marie Rose	St. Martin	23 Sept 1912	Olivier, Henry	(Olivier) Iberia
Condley, Marie Liliane	St. Martin	11 Oct 1913	Orso, Wicklif	(Côteau) Iberia
Loignon, Cécile	(Lydia) Iberia	5 Feb 1914	de Kerlégand, Thomas	St. Martin
de Kerlégand, Amanda	St. Martin	12 Dec 1914	Broussard, Jean Ovey	Iberia
Chatman, Marie	(Segura) Iberia	1916	Jean-Baptiste, Clovis	(Cade) St. Martin
Broussard, Aline	Iberia	8 Apr 1916	de Kerlégand, Aymar	St. Martin
Chrétien, Marie Octavie	St. Martin	1916	Destouet, Jean-François	(Lydia) Iberia
Bourda, Suzanne	Iberia	8 Jan 1917	Barras, Oscar	St. Martin

St. Martin & St. Landry Parishes

Bride	Birth parish	Marriage date	Groom	Birth parish
Birotte, Julie Catherine	St. Landry	12 Jun 1900	Rochon, Louis Pierre Bartélémi	St. Martin
de Kerlégand, Georgine Babine	St. Martin	29 May 1909	Chrétien, Francis Tarlton	(Opelousas) St. Landry
Simien, Marie	(Port Barré) St. Landry	4 Dec 1909	Detiège, Edgar Louis	St. Martin
Martinet, Marie Fabiola	(B. Bridge) St. Martin	25 Jun 1913	Doiron, Ambroise	Lafayette
Trahan, Régina	(Cade) St. Martin	25 Apr 1914	du Rousseau, Gustave Stanislas	(Eunice) St. Landry

Iberia & Lafayette Parishes

Bride	Birth parish	Marriage date	Groom	Birth parish
Lilly, Clara	Lafayette	14 Jan 1903	Décuir, Samuel Charles	Iberia
Días, Philomène	Lafayette	2 Mar 1905	Boutté, Joseph R.	Iberia

Iberia & St. Landry Parishes

Bride	Birth parish	Marriage date	Groom	Birth parish
Martel, Joséphine Alexandrine	St. Landry	11 Feb 1907	de Rouen Jr, Alfred	(Lydia) Iberia

Appendix R
Voorhies family marriages
Children of Félix Voorhies & Modeste Potier

Voorhies	Marriage date	Partner	Birth parish
Voorhies, Édouard	20 Sept 1882	Mouton, Alice	(Lafayette) Lafayette
Voorhies, Félix Étienne	2 Oct 1890	Mouton, Marie Joséphine Corine	(Lafayette) Lafayette
Voorhies, Charles Louis	27 Mar 1894	Simon, Marie-Louise	(Opelousas) St. Landry
Voorhies, Albert Potier	15 Sept 1897	Broussard, Inèz Aimée Philomène	(Parks) St. Martin
Voorhies, Robert Ducrest	3 Oct 1899	Davis, Margaret Maria	(New Iberia) Iberia
Voorhies, Marie Cécile	10 Jan 1911	Babin Jr., Louis	(Port Allen) W. Baton Rouge
Voorhies, Joseph Paul Émile	17 Apr 1907	Delcambre, Ève	(Petite-Anse) Iberia
Voorhies, Émile Walter Francis	20 Oct 1903	Sealy, Letty Grace	(New Iberia) Iberia
Voorhies, Marie Lucie	20 Apr 1903	Gassie, Auguste Joseph	W. Baton Rouge
Voorhies, Jean Sosthène	30 Apr 1908	Broussard, Éloïse Marie Anne	(Breaux Bridge) St. Martin
Voorhies, Marie Modeste Cidalise	8 Jun 1908	Dauterive, Joseph Frank	(New Iberia) Iberia

Appendix S
Example of first cousin intermarriages

Bride	Marriage date	Groom	Location
Boutté, Victorine Lise	5 Mar 1832	Boutté, Honoré-Mélidor	St. Martinville
de la Houssaye, Charlotte Estelle	7 Feb 1833	de la Houssaye, Charles Alexandre Théogène	St. Martinville
Boutté, Clémence	17 May 1837	Boutté, Philémond Pierre	St. Martinville
de la Houssaye, Magdeleine Victoire Floriska	28 Apr 1838	de la Houssaye, Onésiphore	St. Martinville
Boutté, Éloïse	6 Jun 1839	Boutté, Philippe	New Iberia
Darby, Modeste Estelle	30 Jan 1841	Boutté, François Zénon	New Iberia
de la Houssaye, Marie Ersilie	20 May 1842	Bienvenu, Charles Guérinière	St. Martinville
Doré, Louise	27 Dec 1842	de la Houssaye, Nicolas Balthasar	New Iberia
Guillory, Marie Anne	21 Aug 1845	Allain, Aurélien	Opelousas
Hiver, Ursules Uranie	15 Feb 1848	Boutté, Charles Voltaire	New Iberia
Boutté, Victorine Célima	12 Jun 1849	Boutté, Hilaire Sainteville	New Iberia
Champagne, Claire	23 Jul 1849	de la Houssaye, Nicolas Balthasar	St. Martinville
de la Houssaye, Charlotte Élisa	23 Jul 1849	Champagne Jr., François	St. Martinville
de la Houssaye, Marie Françoise	4 Oct 1849	de la Houssaye, Jean Barthélémy	St. Martinville
Chrétien, Céleste Ondine	4 Jan 1859	Arnaud, Louis Délille	St. Martinville
Chrétien, Marie Thérèse Zoélina	19 Mar 1859	Halphen, Joseph Oscar	New Orleans (St. Martinville)
Rougeau, Sylvanie	2 May 1860	Birot, Zéphyrin	Opelousas
Olivier, Célestine	26 Oct 1864	Boutté, Télesphore	New Iberia
Chachéré, Ernest	11 Oct 1865	Chénier, Marie	Opelousas
Baker, Amélie Clothilde	7 Feb 1866	de Penne, Joseph Fortuné	St. Martinville
McCarthy, Marie Alicia	21 Dec 1866	Blanco, Étienne	Opelousas
Boutté, Clémentine	25 Jan 1869	Boutté, Surville	New Iberia
Décuir, Élizabeth	16 Feb 1870	Décuir, Joseph	New Iberia
Décuir, Marie Élodie Victoria	25 Jan 1870	Ferdinand, William	New Iberia
de la Houssaye, Marie Adèle	30 Jan 1871	Décuir, Omer Ovignac	New Iberia
Décuir, Marie Alysia	1 Nov 1874	Décuir, Eusèbe Ferjus	New Iberia
de la Houssaye, Désirée	21 Nov 1876	Abat, Arthur Alcide	St. Martinville
Broussard, Amélie	4 Sept 1878	Louis, Aristile	Loreauville
Singleton, Félicité	6 Feb 1877	Décuir, Démas Hilaire	New Iberia
Collins, Cora	22 Feb 1881	Boutté, Philippe	New Iberia
Décuir, Modeste Athalie	20 Oct 1881	de la Houssaye, St-Denis	New Iberia
Décuir, Alida A.	6 Jul 1882	de la Houssaye, Joseph Ozémé	New Iberia
de la Houssaye, Gabrielle	28 Apr 1883	de la Houssaye, Louis Joseph Théogène	New Iberia
Condley, Thérèse	4 Feb 1884	Condley, Louis	St. Martinville
Décuir, Marie Élodie Victoria	19 Apr 1886	Parquin, William	New Iberia

Bastien, Honora	11 Feb 1888	Castillo, Louis	Loreauville
Jardoin, Philomène "Fillette"	10 Nov 1888	Collins, François	Opelousas
Allain, Corine	29 Oct 1891	Guillory, Martin	Ville Platte
Lorins, Marie-Thérèse	24 Jan 1894	Lorins, Pierre Willy	St. Martinville
Sénégal, Ozéa	26 Dec 1900	Chiasson, François	Lafayette
de la Houssaye, Régina	7 Apr 1905	Décuir, Raphaël	New Iberia

Appendix T
Union Baptist Church Board of Trustees 1897

Name	Birthplace	Occupation	Census
Hamilton, Rev. Armstead	Virginia	Laborer	1870 SM W2 p 25
Hockless, Numa	Louisiana	Laborer	1880 SM W3 p 36
Ford, Edward	Ohio	Farm Laborer	1880 SM W1 p 22
Jackson, Andrew L.	Alabama	Farmer	1900 SM W5 D77 p 7
Jacob, François "Frank"	Louisiana	Farm Laborer	1880 SM W1 p 32
Lebarre, Antoine N.	Louisiana	Farm Laborer	1880 SM W1 p 36
Madison, Harding	Virginia	Laborer	1880 SM W1 p 33
Robert, Robert "Bob"	Louisiana/Virginia	Farm Laborer	1880 SM W1 p 36
Taylor, Thomas	Virginia	Laborer	1880 SM W3 p 36
Thomas, Lemuel	Mississippi	Farm Laborer	1880 SM W1 p 28
Washington, William	Louisiana	Farm Laborer	1880 SM W5 p 20

Bethlehem Baptist Church #1 Founders 1897

Name	Birthplace	Occupation	Census
Anderson, Emma	Louisiana	None	1900 SM W5 D77 p10
Enard, Edgar			
Enard, Lizzie			
Enard, Mary	Louisiana	None	1900 SM W5 D77 p11
Jackson, Percy			
Jackson, Percy	Louisiana	Farm Laborer	1900 SM W5 D77 p4
Jenkins, Landonia			
Kane, Richard	Louisiana	Farmer	1900 SM W5 D77 p11
Martinet, Alice			
Oghuren, Washington	Louisiana	Farm Laborer	1900 SM W5 D77 p11
Payne, Caldonia			
Payne, Numa	Louisiana	Farmer	1900 SM W5 D77 p7
Sam, Sarah			
Savoy, Fanny	Louisiana/Virginia	None	1900 SM W5 D77 p8
Singleton, W.			
Smith, Albert	Missouri	Farmer	1900 SM W5 D77 p8
Smith, Calvin			
Smith, Eliza			
Smith, Frank			
Smith, John			
Smith, Mardy			
Smith, Mary			
Stelly, Thomas			
Taylor, Ashmay	Louisiana	Farmer	1900 SM W5 D77 p5
Thomas, Alfred			
Thomas, Alice			
Thomas, Henry	Maryland	Landlord	1900 SM W1 D70 p 28
Thomas, Millie	Louisiana	Farm Laborer	1900 SM W5 D77 p8
Thomas, Rosalie			
Thomas, Victoria	Louisiana	Farm Laborer	1900 SM W5 D77 p8
Ward, Willie H.	Louisiana	Farmer	1900 SM W5 D77 p7
White, Josephine	Mississippi	None	1900 SM W5 D77 p1
Williams, Louisa			
Wilkins, Joseph W.			
Wheelright, Pecky	Louisiana/MD	None	1900 SM W5 D77 p9

Wheelright, Robbie	Louisiana/MD	Farm Laborer	1900 SM W5 D77 p9
Wheelright, John	Louisiana/MD	Farmer	1900 SM W5 D77 p9
Wheelright, Mary	Louisiana/MD	None	1900 SM W5 D77 p9
Wheelright, Miles	Louisiana	Farmer	1900 SM W5 D77 p7

Appendix U
Lafayette, La Order of Eastern Star Founding Members

Name	Officers
Abramson, Mrs. N.	Conductress
Avery, Miss Lassaine	
Avery, Mrs. W. J.	Associate Matron
Breeding, Mrs. C. W.	Martha
Hopkins, Mrs. O. B.	Electa
Jagou, Mrs. H.	Worthy Matron
Kahn, Mrs. Sig	Associate Conduct.
Larrabee, Mrs. C. G.	Esther
Levy, Mrs. Mose	Ruth
Plonsky, Mrs. Leon	
Reeves, Mrs. J. C.	
Rosenfield, Mrs. M.	Adah
Abramson, Mr. N.	
Avery, Mr. W. J.	
Breeding, Mr. C. W.	Worthy Patron
Delmouly, Mr. S. J.	Secretary
Demanade, Mr. H.	
Herpin, Mr. J. O.	Sentinel
Hopkins, O. B.	Chaplain
Jagou, Mr. H.	
Kahn, Mr. Sig	Treasurer
Larrabee, Mr. C. G.	
Myer, Mr. M.	Warder
Rosenfield, Mr. M.	
Young, Mr. C. S.	

Appendix V
Lorraine Chapter, U.D. Founding Members
Order of the Eastern Star
Opelousas, La

Name	Officers
Shute, Mrs. Irene	Worthy Matron
Allen, Mr. J. E.	Worthy Patron
Childs, Mrs. Asa	Associate Matron
Loeb, Mr. E. L.	Secretary
Haas, Dr. J. A.	Treasurer
Pulford, Miss Minnie	Conductress
Thompson, Miss Daisy	Associate
Williams, Miss Bonnie	Adah
Sanders, Mrs. Betty	Ruth
Loeb, Mrs. Rosetta	Esther
Cain, Miss Helen	Martha
McRae, Mrs.	Electa
Todd, Mrs. Adele	Warden
Winsberg, Mr. Mayer	Sentinel
Jordan, Mr. J. W.	Chaplain
Allen, F. C.	
Beatty, A. W.	
Braud, N. W.	
Butler, J. P.	
Guidry, B. A.	
Gulinski, M.	
Haas, Leon S.	
Hayes, Mrs. M. M.	
Hosselin, Paul	
Isaac, I.	
Ray, Dr. Jas. O.	
Reynolds, Clarence	
Roos, Mrs. Ike	
Roos, Isaac	
Shaw, Dr. J. A.	
Sholars, Mrs. L. A.	

Appendix W
Iberia Parish Cane Statistics 1910

	Creole				Non-Creole		
LOREAUVILLE							
Loreauville 14	W Creole	French	C Creole	French	Whites	Black & Mu	
Farmers	219	185	49	46	2	3	
Farm Labore	27	24	62	45		31	
							(all English speaking page 3
PETITE-ANSE TO DELCAMBRE							
Petite-Anse Canal West	W Creole	French	C Creole	French	Whites	Black & Mu	
Farmers	111	93	19	16	8		
Farm Labore	133	121	20	19	11	2	

	POLICE JURY WARD 1						
Grand Marais W1 & 2	W Creole	French	C Creole	French	Whites	Black & Mu	
Farmers	28	11	42	11		5	
Farm Labore	31	15	84	24		14	
Guidry Plantation	W Creole	French	C Creole	French	Whites	Black & Mu	
Farmers	1						
Farm Labore	1	1				16	
Bayard Plantation	W Creole	French	C Creole	French	Whites	Black & Mu	
Farmers	1	1			2		
Farm Labore	4	3	1		2	30	
Patoutville	W Creole	French	C Creole	French	Whites	Black & Mu	Police Jury Ward 1
Farmers	34	6	3	1	4	2	
Farm Labore	45	24	13	2	7	20	
Murphy Environs	W Creole	French	C Creole	French	Whites	Black & Mu	
Farmers	9	4				2	
Farm Labore	14	5	1			7	
Enterprise Plantation	W Creole	French	C Creole	French	Whites	Black & Mu	
Farmers	2						
Farm Labore	4	2	5			40	
Weeks Plantation	W Creole	French	C Creole	French	Whites	Black & Mu	
Farmers	6	2			8	1	
Farm Labore	10	7			7	4	

POLICE JURY WARD 2							
Olivier	W Creole	French	C Creole	French	Whites	Black & Mu	
Farmers	12	4	8		7	1	
Farm Labore	14	6	22	1	10	74	
Nico Town	W Creole	French	C Creole	French	Whites	Black & Mu	
Farmers	32	6	16		5	9	
Farm Labore	47	13	32	1		42	
Peebles Plantation	W Creole	French	C Creole	French	Whites	Black & Mu	
Farmers	22	12					
Farm Labore	53	34	11	1	4	12	Police Jury Ward 2
W2 General	W Creole	French	C Creole	French	Whites	Black & Mu	
Farmers	44	27	2		2	2	
Farm Labore	74	41	9	4		25	
Lydia Plantation	W Creole	French	C Creole	French	Whites	Black & Mu	
Farmers	7	3					
Farm Labore	11	6	2		1	12	
John B. Lewis Plantation	W Creole	French	C Creole	French	Whites	Black & Mu	
Farmers	4	2	3				
Farm Labore	3	3	9	3			
POLICE JURY WARD 3							
Belle-Place & Olivier	W Creole	French	C Creole	French	Whites	Black & Mu	Police Jury Ward 3
Farmers	49	12	44	1	12	8	
Farm Labore	59	14	163	3	15	34	
POLICE JURY WARD 4							
Behind Loreauville	W Creole	French	C Creole	French	Whites	Black & Mu	Police Jury Ward 4
Farmers	58	17	45	4	2	4	
Farm Labore	91	50	150	19	1	23	
POLICE JURY WARD 5							
Freetown	W Creole	French	C Creole	French	Whites	Black & Mu	
Farmers	11	6	4		2	7	
Farm Labore	10	7	9			14	Police Jury Ward 5
Segura & Coteau	W Creole	French	C Creole	French	Whites	Black & Mu	
Farmers	161	130	45	6	7	18	
Farm Labore	248	223	200	28	5	65	
POLICE JURY WARD 7							
Bull Island	W Creole	French	C Creole	French	Whites	Black & Mu	
Farmers	8	8	12	10	1	4	
Farm Labore	10	10	18	15		1	Police Jury Ward 7
Rynella & Petite-Anse	W Creole	French	C Creole	French	Whites	Black & Mu	
Farmers	127	104	32	15	8	17	
Farm Labore	99	71	110	53	10	56	

POLICE JURY WARD 8							
Jackson Town	W Creole	French	C Creole	French	Whites	Black & Mu	Police Jury Ward 8
Farmers	1				2	2	
Farm Laborer	1		1		2	46	
Rose Town	W Creole	French	C Creole	French	Whites	Black & Mu	Police Jury Ward 8
Farmers	1					3	
Farm Laborers						1	
Grand Marais Road	W Creole	French	C Creole	French	Whites	Black & Mu	Police Jury Ward 8
Farmers	2		1			1	
Farm Laborer	1					1	
40 Arpents Road	W Creole	French	C Creole	French	Whites	Black & Mu	Police Jury Ward 8
Farmers	1					1	
Farm Laborers						6	
Monnet Road	W Creole	French	C Creole	French	Whites	Black & Mu	Police Jury Ward 8
Farmers	3					1	
Farm Laborers						2	
St Peter's Road	W Creole	French	C Creole	French	Whites	Black & Mu	Police Jury Ward 8
Farmers	1					1	
Farm Laborers						5	
Rural Jeanerette General	W Creole	French	C Creole	French	Whites	Black & Mu	Police Jury Ward 8
Farmers	31	16	7		14	14	
Farm Laborer	43	26	38	1	25	307	

Appendix X
St Martin Parish Cane Statistics 1910

	Creole				Non-Creole	
POLICE JURY WARD 1						
Rural St Martinville & East	W Creole	French	C Creole	French	Whites	Black & Mu
Farmers	56	29	92	30	9	2
Farm Labore	19	12	65	17	3	1
	75	41	157	47	12	3
l St Martinville & West of T	W Creole	French	C Creole	French	Whites	Black & Mu
Farmers	71	31	259	61	7	2
Farm Labore	39	32	332	192	10	13
	110	63	591	253	17	15
POLICE JURY WARD 2						
Lower Levée Area	W Creole	French	C Creole	French	Whites	Black & Mu
Farmers	6	0	0	0	3	0
Farm Labore	6	5	0	0	1	0
	12	5	0	0	4	0
POLICE JURY WARD 3						
Parks	W Creole	French	C Creole	French	Whites	Black & Mu
Farmers	169	90	93	36	2	0
Farm Labore	72	48	35	16	0	0
	241	138	128	52	2	0
Rural Parks	W Creole	French	C Creole	French	Whites	Black & Mu
Farmers	56	37	42	20	4	0
Farm Labore	55	43	100	42	4	0
	111	80	142	62	8	0
POLICE JURY WARD 4						
Rural Breaux Bridge	W Creole	French	C Creole	French	Whites	Black & Mu
Farmers	156	138	111	93	0	0
Farm Labore	157	143	209	192	2	0
	313	281	320	285	2	0
POLICE JURY WARD 5						
Cecilia & Environs	W Creole	French	C Creole	French	Whites	Black & Mu
Farmers	250	230	307	293	8	15
Farm Labore	280	256	327	301	7	17
	530	486	634	594	15	32